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SPEECHES

of

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

President of India

1957-1958

POOLING OF RESOURCES TO CONTROL T.B.*

I am happy to be associated with this International Congress on Tuberculosis, which is the first of its kind to be held in the East. It is always a pleasure and a privilege to meet scientific workers whose contributions in the medical field enable us to solve problems connected with diseases that afflict mankind.

It is now recognised that many health problems have to be dealt with on a world basis and one of them undoubtedly is that of tuberculosis. No part of the world can be safe from tuberculosis if it remains prevalent in any other part. Though it is true that today this disease has been practically controlled in most of the advanced countries of the world and has ceased to be a serious public health problem in those countries, yet it does remain as one of considerable magnitude in the lesser developed countries, particularly in the eastern region where the majority of the population of the world lives. It is therefore very appropriate that the International Union Against Tuberculosis should have chosen an eastern country as its venue of this Conference, as this gives an opportunity to those engaged in the fight against this disease in this region to come into contact with their colleagues in other parts and to exchange ideas.

I am particularly happy that this Conference is being held in India. The fact that the first International Congress to be held in the East meets here is a matter of honour for us and we take it as a tribute to the part India is playing in the international field, though in a small way. In recent years we are becoming increasingly conscious that no nation or people can live in isolation and work out its destiny and as such our Government and people are taking a keen interest in world affairs, be it in politics, economics or science. There was a time when each country had to solve its problems depending mainly on its own resources. Thanks to the United Nations Organisation and its associated agencies, such as the W.H.O., the U.N.I.C.E.F., and other Technical Assistance programmes for health and also to non-official bodies like the International Union Against Tuberculosis, a spirit of co-operation and mutual assistance among different countries has developed in recent years.

*Inaugural speech at the International Tuberculosis Congress, New Delhi, January 7, 1957.

While these organisations are associated with and assisted by Governments, the International Union Against Tuberculosis and the Tuberculosis Association of India under whose auspices this Congress is being held, are purely voluntary and non-official organisations. In contrast to the seeming ideological differences in the political field, it is refreshing to note that the activities of these non-official bodies are not influenced by such considerations. I am glad that about eight hundred delegates representing fifty countries are present here to take part in the deliberations of this Conference and help in the solution of the problems connected with tuberculosis.

I know that during the past fifty years or so such a large volume of knowledge on tuberculosis has accumulated that today the outlook on this disease has considerably changed. During my younger days tuberculosis was dreaded not only by patients, their family-members and neighbours but by the public also. There was a sense of despondency and frustration all round when a person was found to be suffering from this disease. Conditions today are different, and people do not consider tuberculosis so dreadful and there is a feeling of optimism. This is partly due to the success achieved by some of the countries in controlling it, and partly to the knowledge that the newly discovered drugs can deal with it with a good deal of success. Advances in surgery also have given hopes to many a sufferer. Our knowledge about the causes that spread tuberculosis and the methods to prevent it has, moreover, very considerably increased. Yet, we have no reason to be complacent as there is still need for a concerted drive in making use of this knowledge by the people at large. This is specially so in the under-developed countries. They have now the advantage of drawing on the experiences of countries where the disease has been controlled and adopt them with such modifications as are necessary to suit their special conditions.

In a country like India where most of the time of the people is spent in open air and where there is plenty of sunshine practically throughout the year, it should be easier to control the disease than in countries where climatic conditions render life indoors a necessity and sunshine is scarcely available. The most serious difficulty, however, arises out of undernutrition and some habits of life.

It is, therefore, important to remember that economics play a predominant part in the control of tuberculosis. This includes nutritional, housing and social factors. Steps calculated to improve these are being undertaken by many of the so-called underdeveloped countries. This, coupled with the application

of the accumulated scientific knowledge, gives them the hope that what has been possible in the developed countries during the last fifty years or so can be achieved by them in a much shorter period. India, as you know, has its Five Year Plans for economic development. It is very encouraging that there is a vast amount of goodwill and co-operation from other countries to help the execution of these Plans. Our friends from foreign countries who are attending this Conference will, I hope, have an opportunity to see something of the progress we are making through our national Plans.

In all these matters, and particularly in regard to the control of tuberculosis, it is not merely the Governments which are solely responsible. Non-official organisations also have a special duty in this regard. I know that even in those countries where tuberculosis has now been practically controlled, the initiative for undertaking concerted measures in the earlier years came from non-official bodies. Even in full-fledged Welfare States these bodies have an important role to keep the problem fresh in the public mind, to supplement Governmental effort and to undertake certain activities which can possibly be effectively carried out by such organisations. I am happy that the Tuberculosis Association of India, of which I have the privilege of being Patron, and of which my esteemed friend, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, is President, has been able to keep the tuberculosis problem before the public eye. It is my earnest hope that this international conference will further strengthen the hands of those engaged in the war against tuberculosis, not only in India but in the other countries of the world similarly situated.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Conference and declaring it open.

KURUKSHETRA—REMINDER OF A LOFTY TRADITION.*

I am glad to have been able to come here to lay the foundation-stone of the Kurukshetra University on the kind invitation of the Chancellor. This University is going to be somewhat different from other universities in this country. Here special emphasis will be laid on the study of Sanskrit and other Indian languages and an effort will be made to familiarise the students of this University with ancient knowledge and currents of thought so that in their light and in keeping with the present-day

*Speech made while laying the foundation-stone of Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, January 11, 1957.

conditions they may mould their thinking and behaviour in day-to-day life. This object, which is actually quite simple and worth striving for, might appear abstruse to some. The inability of a section of the people to grasp it springs from an impression that there are basic contradictions between the ancient and modern currents of thought. Such an impression is groundless.

The modern world has no doubt made great strides in the fields of science, industrialisation and technology, and seeing from this particular angle the people of two thousand years ago would appear to be far behind as compared to the moderners. But so far as thinking, education, love of art, creative writing, the achievement of happiness in life, the way of living peacefully, etc., are concerned, I do not think the moderner has made any remarkable advance over his earlier precursor. Be that as it may, it has to be admitted that in this direction man has not sufficiently progressed to turn his back upon ancient thought and its achievements with any justification. Many scholars and present-day thinkers are of the view that there are elements in ancient thought which go to supplement the present-day thinking by filling the gaps that exist in it. By assimilating in our present-day knowledge some of the ancient wisdom we might be able to make our lives happier and more successful.

I have always attached great importance to a proper synthesis between the ancient and the modern currents of thought. It is my conviction that familiarity with ancient learning should constitute an important part of modern education. There can be no conflict between these two currents of thought, as, since the very dawn of creation, the principal motive which has actuated man is the search for happiness in life. All his efforts have been bent towards improving his conditions and environments for the achievement of this aim. What we call modern thought is not altogether new. Cumulative knowledge and experience of the past have gone to form the foundation on which the edifice of modern thought stands. It is, therefore, necessary for us to realise this truth and seek to achieve a synthesis of the modern and the ancient thought.

To be able to follow this useful and important suggestion it is essential that we study the older Indian languages, particularly Sanskrit. The evolution of Indian thought in all fields of knowledge is linked up with Sanskrit since pre-historic times, although much of Buddhist and Jain literatures are available in Pali and Prakrit languages also. Without studying these languages and also without grasping the spirit of the successor

languages, the modern Indian tongues, we can never hope to achieve the desired synthesis.

The sponsors of the Kurukshetra University have been inspired by these thoughts. It is, therefore, natural that the courses of study and the programme of researches to be followed here will be in keeping with this object. The departments which are being opened here and the courses of study which will be formulated will, I am sure, be guided by the spirit of synthesis. In all these matters we shall have to strike the golden mean between the acquiring of pure knowledge and the practical needs of life. I hope that this University, which we might describe as a new experiment in education, will be filling a long-felt want.

The place which you have selected for locating this University has its own importance. Kurukshetra which is situated in the centre of this State is connected with many an important past event, associated as it is with a host of religious and cultural traditions. The recent move to establish Universities and educational institutions in rural areas will also find support from the setting up of this University at Kurukshetra which is situated in the heart of the countryside.

The decision of the Punjab Government to set up this University is indeed praiseworthy. It perforce reminds us of those times when Punjab was the home of great scholars and eminent grammarians like Panini. It is a matter of pride for the Punjab, which has such a glorious tradition of learning, that after centuries of indifference towards Sanskrit this University is being established here today.

I feel confident that the Kurukshetra University will draw the people to that great store of knowledge which lies hidden in Sanskrit and other Indian languages by popularising the study of their literatures. This ancient literature and the thought connected with it is the most important part of our heritage, which is of vital importance not only for this country but the whole world.

Therefore, I think that this University will not just be adding to the number of the existing Universities in India; it will have its distinctive aims and its own planned study and research. Not only in our country but all over the world there is a demand that knowledge and science, spiritual progress and material prosperity, character-building and intellectual development should go hand in hand, so that the world retains the technique of manufacturing atom bombs but actually uses that knowledge and technique for the welfare of mankind and not for making

destructive weapons of war. Let us not ignore the world in which we live and look upon meditation in a sequestered grove as the sole object of life. Let us also not forget the human soul and God and look upon material well-being as the end-all and be-all of life. Our ideal should be to devote ourselves to the spiritual aspect of life while living in the world and to do all that is possible for the material well-being of human beings while advancing on the path of spirituality. We want to inculcate this spirit of synthesis and harmony in the minds of our young men and women through the study of Sanskrit literature.

I hope and pray that the Kurukshetra University will be successful in achieving its object and that it will serve the Indian people and their literature.

IMPORTANCE OF SANSKRIT IN NATIONAL LIFE.*

I am glad to be in your midst to inaugurate the fifth session of the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad which is being held at this sacred place. It has been my good luck to have been associated with all the previous sessions of this Parishad. It is only proper that this session coming in the wake of the session held last year at Tirupati, the holy place of the South, should be held at this famous centre of pilgrimage, Kurukshetra.

It is gratifying to note that the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad had been advancing gradually towards the achievement of its goal, namely, popularisation of Sanskrit language and literature throughout the country. The information that has been received from the various Indian universities shows that as a subject of study Sanskrit is becoming more and more popular among the student class. It has also become a subject of active discussion in social and political circles. It was perhaps the result of this awakening and the activities of this Parishad that the Government have set up lately a Commission to investigate all questions relating to the study of Sanskrit in the country. It is hoped this Commission will consider these questions from the point of view of the utility and wider propagation of Sanskrit, and that it would be able to make recommendations which will enrich not only the Sanskrit language and literature but also our national life. I am sure this Parishad will offer full co-operation to the Commission in its work. The Sanskrit Vishva Parishad will also be able to collect necessary data and the information asked for

*Inaugural Address at the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad, Kurukshetra, January 11, 1957,

by the Commission in its questionnaire. We can help the Commission considerably by collecting such material and making it available to it.

As all of you know, I have laid the foundation-stone of the Kurukshetra University today. The credit for conceiving the idea of a Sanskrit University goes to your Parishad, and the Punjab Government, which has given practical shape to this idea in spite of good many difficulties, deserves our congratulations.

We are happy to see that our people and Government have begun to pay more attention to the study of Sanskrit and the Indian languages. Just as the Kurukshetra University has been founded here today, a decision has also been taken to establish a Sanskrit University at Varanasi, which has been associated with Sanskrit learning from time immemorial.

Although as a result of the Parishad's efforts the educated classes in India have begun to realise the importance of Sanskrit studies, it cannot be said that the common people as such in our country share that inclination to the same extent. There is a good deal of indifference and many misgivings still found among the people and it is the duty of the Parishad to get over them. I do not think mere propaganda is sufficient to meet the requirements of the situation. I feel that as far as possible we should strive to simplify the learning and teaching of Sanskrit in accordance with present-day requirements. The study of ancient literature is no doubt of great importance, but the present-day student cannot be satisfied with only that. He desires to study a literature which brings him closer to the life that he actually leads and which endows him with the capacity to face the problems and difficulties inherent in this life. This question is of such fundamental importance that it merits the best attention of the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad and those connected with the Sanskrit University. They have to solve it by mutual discussions and exchange of ideas. While, therefore, we welcome the establishment of a Sanskrit University, we must also realise the responsibility it has thrown on our shoulders.

So far as the recognition of Sanskrit as an important subject of study is concerned, we see good omens all over the country. Sanskrit, which does not want to encroach on any of the spoken languages of India, occupies a special place in our cultural and religious life. I would not be wrong if I added that its importance in our political life is equally great, because for thousands of years it was Sanskrit which kept the various regions of this great country together. Although Sanskrit ceased, in course of time, to occupy the same prominent place in our

curriculum, it still occupies the foremost place in our social, religious and cultural life. It would, therefore, be correct to say that the importance of Sanskrit as an instrument for forging the bond of unity in this country has not altogether disappeared even today.

I congratulate the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad on its valuable work and hope that its efforts would bear fruit and Sanskrit will once again occupy in our life the place which it deserves.

With these words I have great pleasure in declaring the 5th session of the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad open.

LOOKING AFTER BLIND WOMEN—SOCIETY'S MORAL RESPONSIBILITY.*

I did not know much about the Virjanand Andh Kanya Vidyalaya, and when all the facts about this institution were brought to my notice and I learnt that it owed its existence and gradual growth entirely to a band of selfless women, I was pleasantly surprised and readily agreed to open the new building of the Vidyalaya. This institution for blind girls which began six years ago with a few students in two rooms in an ordinary house, is now shifting to this beautiful and commodious building. The Managing Committee can feel proud of this progress. In this new building which has been constructed as a result of their unremitting efforts and singleness of purpose can accommodate 100 students who will not only learn but also stay here as boarders. I congratulate all those who have worked for this noble cause in any capacity.

As Shrimati Dhan Devi Kapoor, Hony. Secretary of the Managing Committee, has said, there are about 8 lakhs of blind girls and women in India. The number of blind boys and men is still larger. To look after all these people and to make suitable arrangements for their education and livelihood so that they are not looked upon as a burden on society and are considered its useful limbs, is a duty which devolves upon the society and the Nation. It is the moral and social duty of those of us who have been endowed with all the faculties and limbs to make the life of these handicapped people as happy as possible. Catering for the needs of such people and helping them to stand

*Speech made while performing the Opening Ceremony of the New Building of Virjanand Andh Kanya Vidyalaya, New Delhi, January 13, 1957.

on their feet is, in my opinion, symbolic of a society's progress and culture. No nation or society would deserve to be called cultured if suitable arrangements do not exist in it for the education and care of the blind and other similarly handicapped children.

In nearly all the progressive countries of the West and the East, special attention is paid to the problem of the disabled people. In European countries, blind men and women find employment in many walks of life, because they are trained scientifically for them. In England and the United States, for example, a large number of blind people are employed in offices and factories. I had the occasion to receive here a few days ago Shri Rajendra T. Vyas, a blind advocate practising in the Bombay High Court. It is a pleasure to meet such people and our society can feel proud of them.

There are good many institutions in our country for the education of blind boys, but as far as I know, similar facilities do not exist for blind girls. An institution like the Virjanand Andh Kanya Vidyalaya is, therefore, all the more welcome to us, because it is meant exclusively for blind girls. Such an institution richly deserves the help of the public and the Government. I feel that there should be no difficulty for institutions like this to get recognition at the hands of the Government. Therefore, I hope that not only the public but the authorities will also help you so that you can expand this Vidyalaya to accommodate 300 or even more blind girls. The targets which you have fixed in your plan are reasonable. While endorsing them I must express the hope that you will be successful in achieving them.

Once again I would like to congratulate the students, the teachers and the Managing Committee of the Virjanand Andh Kanya Vidyalaya on their active and selfless work. You can always be sure of my sympathies.

With these words I have great pleasure in opening the new building of your Vidyalaya.

ADVICE TO FUTURE ADMINISTRATORS.*

It is indeed a good opportunity that you get here during your training to learn things and acquaint yourself with administrative problems. I have been meeting the I.A.S. probationers

*Address to I.A.S. probationers, New Delhi, January 14, 1957.

year after year when they call at Rashtrapati Bhavan. I am pleased this year to see you at your school, though I shall still be looking forward to your coming and meeting me at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

You are, I am sure, aware that times have changed considerably and with that the conditions and requirements of service have also changed. In British days the foremost task of the civilians was the maintenance of law and order in the country, which in other words meant working in a manner that ensured the security of the British Empire. Last of all came, almost as a secondary duty, service of the people entrusted to their charge. After independence this order of duties has been reversed. The foremost duty of our civilians now is the service of the people. Maintenance of law and order comes only as a secondary duty, if and when the occasion arises. I hope for this purpose you will have to use your powers only occasionally. In view of this change, the requirements of training have also changed. Our officers have now to develop a different mental attitude and a different approach for grappling with the problems they are likely to face in their day-to-day work.

Our civilian officers' work in the past was not as variegated as it is today. You will now be required to tackle a variety of tasks. For all these you have to get adequate training here. While you will no doubt equip yourself for discharging your duties in the various fields, you must remember that the principal objective is to make the people under you happier, to improve their lot as far as possible, and to ensure that they are better looked after.

When you take over your duties after finishing your training and the period of probation, you might like to specialise in some aspects of your administrative work. It is not only possible but probable that while not neglecting any one of your duties you may be particularly drawn towards certain problems for which you have a special aptitude. It will be worthwhile for you and also for the country if you specialise in those problems. This specialised knowledge may stand you and the Government in good stead at a later period.

I would advise you to cultivate some useful hobby, a hobby which may provide you the right kind of recreation and which may also prove to be beneficial to the people at large. In this connection, may I remind you of the civil servants of olden days whose hobbies have left for us works of monumental importance on various subjects? Besides doing their administrative work, these civilians found ample time in their spare hours to devote

themselves to a specialised study of the classics or history or literature. Among civil servants we have had scholars like R. C. Dutt who, apart from writing on many historical and economic subjects, found time to translate in English verse portions of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, Vincent Smith whose books on history are still studied in Indian schools and colleges, Sir William Hunter who was also an eminent historian and Grierson who specialised in the study of Indian languages and is even today looked upon as an authority on linguistics. There have been many other civilians, besides these, who specialised in certain branches of literature or economic or social problems and have left behind monumental works for the country's benefit. I would advise you to follow their example and choose for yourself a hobby for which you find yourself best equipped. There is plenty of material available in India and you are not only academically well-qualified but are also having a comprehensive training here. All these should enable you to make your choice. Hobbies will not only give you great pleasure and joy but also open new avenues for you.

You know that all administrative jobs are now filled exclusively by Indians and all of you can legitimately aspire for the highest position in official life. There are no racial, provincial or linguistic bars of any kind and equal opportunity is assured to every civilian. These improved conditions of work ensure for you better opportunities not only for serving the people but also for making the best use of your talents.

In a country like India whose Constitution follows in a large measure the British model, the permanent services play a great part in the administration of the country. Ministers may come and go, but services remain to carry on the administration. It is the permanent services which can guarantee the continuity of the pattern of administration and the implementation of national policies. Though the policies are framed by Ministers, they have naturally to be guided by the data supplied by you. You have to prepare, collect and supply the material on the basis of which alone Ministers can formulate a policy, and once a policy is formulated its implementation is the responsibility of the civilians. Your work must necessarily count a great deal before policies are formulated and again when the question of implementing them arises. Therefore, it can be said that your responsibilities have greatly increased.

I am very glad to have got this opportunity of addressing you today. I hope whatever I have told you will not be taken amiss. I have said it with the intention of helping you in your training and future work.

WELCOME TO PRESIDENT OF SYRIA.*

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with great pleasure that I rise to welcome here in our midst His Excellency Mr. Shukri Al-Kuwatly, President of Syria, and Madame Bahira Al-Kuwatly. We welcome him as the Head of a State with which India's relations are very cordial and of long standing. May I say that like India, Syria is a country with a great past with its cultural traditions rooted in its soil? Syria has seen the rise and fall of empires and civilisations.

There is enough historical evidence to show that there were contacts between the people of Syria and those of this country in pre-Christian era and also for a few centuries after Christ. Those early connections and friendly ties, I am glad to say, have found full fruition in our cordial relations in the modern era when both India and Syria have emerged as independent States. Our connections dating from ancient times have found great support today when our two countries are marching forward on the path of reconstruction for the prosperity of our respective peoples. These facts, the keen desire of India and Syria to maintain world peace and to do all that is possible for the achievement of that objective and our community of interests and ideals, provide a strong background to our relations as two friendly States.

We in this country are busy with the task of raising the standard of our people and increasing the prosperity of the Nation. For this purpose we have recently launched a second Five-Year Plan after the completion of the first plan. I am sure Your Excellency will visit at least some of the places where our major nation-building works are in progress.

The increasing cordiality and understanding between our nations has been a matter of profound satisfaction to the Government and people of India. We are happy to see that in our approach to world problems our countries are animated the same desire to maintain friendly relations with other countries on the basis of the noble principles of the Bandung Declaration. It is our fervent hope that mutual understanding should grow and cultural and commercial relations between Syria and India should develop still more closely to our mutual advantage. Continued mutual co-operation between Syria and India is sure to advance the cause of peace.

*Speech at the Banquet given in Honour of His Excellency the President of Syria. New Delhi. January 17, 1957.

India is a secular State and our Constitution enjoins equality of opportunity in public services and other walks of life for all citizens irrespective of class, colour or creed.

We are all so happy to see Your Excellency in our midst and feel sure that Your Excellency's visit to this country will further strengthen the bonds of friendship and fellow-feeling subsisting between the people of India and Syria. While thanking Your Excellency and Madame Bahira Al-Kuwatly once again, I extend you a hearty welcome and hope that your stay in India will be pleasant and comfortable.

ON MEETING OLD FRIENDS.*

Mr. Principal and Friends,

It is a matter of great pleasure to me to be present here this morning to meet so many old friends. I do not know how many of the audience were present in this College when I happened to be a student here but I am glad to see so many of the old faces and am happy to be able to renew this association today after so many years. It is only about two years when I came here in connection with the centenary celebrations of the College and today it is the centenary celebrations of the University which bring me here and enable me to meet so many friends. To a man who is aging nothing gives more comfort than to see a man of his own age and I am glad to see old faces like mine. I am quite sure younger ones also enjoy the old faces and will think of them kindly in the future so that when they grow to be old, they may also have the same privilege of asking younger people to look to them with kindness.

I am glad that I have had this opportunity of meeting you once more. Thank you.

*The President said these words when he met his old class-mates in the Presidency College at Calcutta on the 20th January, 1957.

SURENDRANATH INSTITUTION.*

Friends,

It is a matter of gratification for me to associate myself with this function this morning. When I was asked to lay the foundation-stone of the additional building of the Surendranath Institution. I thought it was my duty to accept this invitation not only because this Institution was associated with the name of one of the builders of new India but also because of a personal reason because I was myself associated with this Institution in its early days. In 1906 I was a student of the law classes of the Ripon College as it was called then and it was there that I received my education in law which became later on my profession. It is also reminiscent of the fact that Shri Surendranath in those days was quite accessible and available to the students who were reading in this College because he used to hold classes every day for two or three hours and those of us who were not associated with the Arts College but only with the Law College did not have that advantage and privilege but all of us had the advantage of sitting at his feet as practical students of politics because he was in the vanguard of the National Movement. I can recall many an occasion when with rapt attention we used to listen to his speeches and draw inspiration from them not only in the Town Hall but at other places also and I can also recall an occasion when he went to Patna and I had an opportunity of listening to his speech there also. I do not know how many people are present here who were inspired by his teachings and speeches as I was. I do not know how many people are here now who knew the great service that he rendered not only in the political sphere but also in the educational field by acting as a teacher of this College.

It is well that this Institution is named after him now and it is well that the work of the College is expanding so that the old accommodation is proving more and more inadequate. In those days when I was reading here there was a small house in which classes used to be held. Subsequently this building was erected and it was expanded and this addition is the 3rd or the 4th which is going to be made to accommodate the large numbers of students who come here.

I wish the Institution all success and hope that those students who will be accommodated here will remember with reverence and respect the great man after whom this Institution is going to be named.

*Speech while laying the Foundation-stone of an extension to the Surendranath Institution at Calcutta on the 20th January, 1957.

HUNDRED EPOCH-MAKING YEARS OF A CENTRE OF LEARNING.*

I feel very happy today in being able to associate myself with the Centenary Celebrations of the Calcutta University, whose history is largely the history of the beginning of western education or modern higher education in this country, particularly in Eastern India. I say so because in the beginning the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University extended from the Punjab in the West to Burma in the East and from Nepal in the North to Ceylon in the South, with the universities of Madras and Bombay thrown in between so far as the Western Deccan and the Southern regions were concerned. Gradually as the thirst for university education developed, other universities also came into being in the inevitable process of expansion.

For nearly 50 years before the three universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were established, pioneers of Indian renaissance like Ram Mohan Roy had been in the vanguard of an active movement that sought to introduce Western science and thought through the medium of English in our country. The views of the protagonists of Anglicism and Orientalism are too well-known to require recapitulation here. But it was significant that the arena where this battle was fought was predominantly Bengal, more particularly Calcutta. In this conflict of ideas the Anglicists got the better of their opponents, and this fact was reflected in the ushering in of these three universities. The Calcutta University, it may be said, was associated with the Indian renaissance and the awakening of nationalism through its alumni in a special way. While it is not possible to underrate the importance of the other universities, I might say that the fountain-head of this nationalism was largely opened up by the products of this University.

It is interesting to see how this University developed into a training ground of nationalism almost in spite of the intentions of the British authorities in India. Lord Canning, the first Chancellor of this University, expressed himself very clearly that Calcutta University would resemble English universities like Oxford and Cambridge of his days in which the nobility and the upper classes of India would be educated. But in less than 10 years Sir Henry Maine, the then Vice-Chancellor, found that instead of becoming an institution for the aristocrats, the

*Inaugural Speech at the Calcutta University Centenary Celebrations, January 20th, 1957.

Calcutta University was fast becoming a popular institution. The education given here began to prepare the soil in which the creative ideals of modern Indian life were to take root and to flower. The very first and second generations of Indians who were the products of this and the other two universities of Madras and Bombay, became the torch-bearers of liberty. Yet in a very deep sense, here was the great consummation of the mission the West was destined to fulfil in the East and also of the mission which the East had to take to the West in the messages of Swami Vivekananda, a student of this University and Gurudev Tagore who was also connected with it, though not a student himself.

You will pardon me if I am in a reminiscent mood for a while and recapitulate the momentous days when I had the good fortune of being a student in this University. During those days we found, on the one hand, the passing of the Universities Act of 1904 giving this University the authority to organise teaching and research; on the other hand, there was active expression of patriotism on a very large scale among students. The partition of Bengal saw the whole of India in ferment. The cult of 'swadeshi' became a creed with the educated people who took it to the masses in the countryside. While the universities were expanding their work, need for radical reform was felt in the system of education and non-official institutions having a different objective and curricula and unrecognised by Government grew up in different parts of the country, laying emphasis on nationalism and Indian culture and way of life. In Bengal the protest against the prevalent set-up took shape in the establishment of the National Council of Education, which was presided over by Sir Gurudas Banerji, an ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, with a large number of some of the most distinguished alumni of the Calcutta University as teachers and students. On account of its independent outlook, the position of the Calcutta University remained uneasy for an appreciable time. These difficulties and occasional crisis notwithstanding, the University continued to progress and soon became a people's university.

The motto of the Calcutta University is "Advancement of Learning" and I take it that those who have been responsible for guiding and controlling the University have understood by it, advancement both vertical and lateral. Thus there has been vast expansion of the system of education which the University stands for and people have been busy enthusiastically all these hundred years establishing new institutions all over the country. The territorial jurisdiction of the Calcutta University has under-

gone tremendous changes and as against what it covered at the time of its establishment, today its activities are confined to the State of West Bengal alone, all the adjoining and distant areas outside Bengal having been cut away from it. That has happened not on account of any lack of interest in the form of education but because of the intense desire to provide larger and ever larger facilities to our young people by establishing new universities. On the other hand, the University has not neglected advancement of learning vertically and under the dynamic personality of Shri Asutosh Mookerjee, has built up a system of post-graduate studies and research in all departments of knowledge. There is a tendency today to establish more and more residential universities both for humanities and sciences and specializing in particular subjects. Through the impetus given to post-graduate studies and research, the Calcutta University has been in the vanguard of educational progress. Its alumni have to their credit not only a large volume of original work in humanities and sciences, but they are also engaged in technical and technological pursuits all over the country. The University therefore deserves congratulations on its achievements.

I have mentioned above that in the first quarter of the last century before the establishment of the University, there was prolonged controversy regarding the kind of education and the medium of instruction and that Anglicists had won the day. But it was not long before it began to dawn on those who were educated in this system that education to be true and genuine and to be capable of bringing out the best that was in man, a foreign language as medium of instruction imposes a heavy burden and the result not unnaturally has been a certain amount of superficiality among the largest number of those who have benefited from this kind of education. It is true that even with a foreign medium India has produced great litterateurs, great scientists, great physicians, great lawyers, great engineers—in fact men of high stature in all walks of life. But their number is rather small when you think of the vast numbers who have gone through the mill; and it would be an interesting study to find out comparative figures showing the percentage of those who have made original contributions from amongst persons educated through their own language and those educated through a foreign medium. I have a feeling that this investigation, if it can be held, will give no indefinite answer in favour of the mother-tongue being the medium of instruction.

As I have said, this aspect of the question began to be canvassed not many years after the establishment of universities

and some of the experiments in the field of what is known as national education were the result. The cycle seemed to have been almost completed in the second decade of the present century when the Saddler Commission came to the conclusion that the best medium of education would be the mother-tongue of the student, and although this recommendation of that Commission has not been fully considered, much less implemented, in the various universities and other educational institutions, there is no doubt that there is, generally speaking, strong public opinion in favour of Indianizing education. Unlike their predecessors in the first quarter of the 19th century, the protagonists of English are now on the defensive and with the national upsurge and the establishment of an Independent Republic, there is no doubt that it is only a matter of time—and that too not a long time—when our languages will come into their own and be accepted as media not only of instruction but also for all work, literary and scientific, administrative and political.

It was therefore in the fitness of things that our Constituent Assembly devoted a part of the Constitution to the question of Language. While it recognized Hindi as the language for all affairs of an all-India character, it also gave full freedom to each State to develop its regional language or languages. The States Reorganization Commission gave expression to the longing that was in the minds of the people to have a division of the country into States on the basis of language; and today, with the exception of two States, all the others have only one language prevalent within their territory. This opens up a vast vista for the improvement and progress of the various regional languages.

It is sometimes urged that our languages are not developed enough to serve as vehicles for the expression of all scientific and technological knowledge and therefore it is suggested that we must continue to have a foreign language as medium of instruction if not in all, at any rate in those branches of knowledge. Necessity is the mother of invention and I have no doubt that when the demand is made on these languages to fulfil this function, they will in course of time develop and acquit themselves creditably. It is futile to expect a language to grow while shutting it off from the holy precincts of higher and particularly technical knowledge. I am therefore hoping that in the next few years there is going to be a tremendous resurgence in our languages and the day is not distant when they will be able to discharge the functions which other languages in other countries, with much less resources in human material and culture,

do. It is not a political question but rather a question which touches the very roots of our life and culture and we cannot afford to ignore it. I am hoping that the Calcutta University which has played such an important part in the past will yet be in the vanguard of this resurgence.

The expansion of education has been so rapid and vast that it has not been possible either for the community or for the universities to keep pace with it, with the result that there is a big gap between our social requirements and the service which our educated people can render. Universities were originally examining bodies and in spite of the fact that greater and greater emphasis has been laid in course of time on teaching and formation of character of the pupils, the fundamental notion persists that an educated person is he alone who has passed a university examination and obtained its diploma. Apart from deterioration in the standard of education which has happened and which is admitted, the purpose of giving the hall-mark of educational efficiency as the result of these tests has itself been very largely defeated. It is therefore not surprising that for a small job the duties attached to which do not require any high academic qualifications acquired at a university, there are hundreds if not thousands of applicants with the hall-mark of a university. The universities have thus ceased to be even screening agencies for weeding out the unfit. And today the greatest problem before all educationists and also governments is what to do with the vast numbers of degree-holders in the country. Having given up the old habits of their parents and grandparents and also their modes of life and having acquired a smattering of learning which wrongly but nonetheless truly creates an aversion to manual work, they feel disappointed and frustrated when they cannot get jobs which are simply not available. And yet the habit of associating university degrees with knowledge and efficiency persists and every parent, who can afford the means, has the ambition of sending his ward to a school or college affiliated to a university. There is always a lurking hope in the mind of such a parent that after obtaining the degree, he would be able to make good the investment which he is making.

It has become therefore necessary to consider how best this waste of effort in obtaining university degrees and the subsequent disappointment and frustration can be avoided. It is absolutely necessary that the universities should devote more and more of their time and energy to the advancement of learning vertically and some other agency should be devised for testing the capacity of candidates for jobs of various kinds.

This will naturally require decentralization of instruction and a shift more and more to scientific and technological subjects and at the same time those who are keen and fitted by their aptitude to advancement of learning should be given greater and greater facilities in the universities to grow to their full stature.

It is not an easy question which can be answered offhand and I know that all thinkers are trying to think out a solution to the problem. I have ventured to draw attention to this because I feel that the problem of educated unemployment is fast approaching the saturation point which it need not do if only we do this screening at a suitable stage and divert those aiming at jobs in one direction and those with a genuine interest in learning and research, in the direction of universities.

I would like to conclude on a note of optimism and express the fervent hope that the active forces which this University set in motion during a comparatively dark period of our life, will continue to be generated in a still larger measure for the fulfilment of the noble destiny of independent India.

On this happy occasion of the Centenary of the Calcutta University, which has given us an opportunity of meeting together and reviewing the stages through which the Calcutta University and higher education in India in general have passed, I would like, as an old student of this University, to offer my greetings to all those connected with it in any way. Let me end this address with the hope that the Calcutta University would make still greater contribution to the advancement of learning and the building up of the India of our dreams.

ART—OUTCOME OF MAN'S EMOTIONAL URGES.*

It gives me great pleasure to come here today on the invitation of the Lalit Kala Akadami to inaugurate the third National Exhibition of Paintings and Sculptures organised by it. I have been to your Akadami on two previous occasions also and recollect with appreciation the impressions your previous exhibitions made on me. As a body sponsored by the Government for the promotion and encouragement of art, the Lalit Kala Akadami had been doing useful work in bringing together the different schools of art in various parts of India, collating their efforts and providing a common forum for the purposes of exhibition of the works of art and discussion of questions relating to art.

*Inaugural Speech at the Third National Exhibition of Paintings and Sculptures organised by the Lalit Kala Akadami, New Delhi January 23rd. 1957.

Being essentially a layman, who has never had the good fortune of either wielding the brush or devoting himself to a special study of art, I would not dabble into theorising about art in general or any of its branches. Nevertheless, you will, I am sure, concede even to a layman the right to express his views on this question. As I understand it, art is essentially the language through which human soul seeks to express itself. It is the outcome of man's cumulative experience and his emotional urges through the ages. The most unique thing about art is that though it springs from an individual's efforts and experience, it is universal in its appeal. A good work of art appeals as much to the eye of the trained artist as to that of a layman who merely knows how to admire art and beauty without going into its intricacies. This tendency in man, I think, has forged a link between the artist and the general public.

Human society, at all stages and in all climes, has shown a weakness for things of art. Its progress in a society is generally symbolic of the advancement of that society. It is in this sense that art is often described as being representative of the age in which it flourishes. For both these reasons, namely, for satisfying man's aesthetic sense and recording human progress, art is looked upon as a valuable treasure of people's cultural heritage.

In India, we are witnessing a great renaissance being ushered in by the forces of freedom and awakening. During these few years art and literature have kept pace with the material prosperity and economic development which we see all round. Recent celebrations organised in connection with the Buddha Jayanti have given further impetus and a new turn to this awakening. It is indeed a welcome sign because I believe a nation's well-being can never be a one-sided affair, and cultural progress is a necessary concomitant of material prosperity. It is a fact to which our long and chequered history bears witness. The times in which Indian art flourished and touched new heights were also the times when our society was known for its wealth and economic prosperity. Now that we are building up a new India and trying to banish poverty, it is heartening to see this renaissance to which I have referred.

Our treasures of art and literature have suffered much from neglect of centuries. One of the tasks to which we must address ourselves is a comprehensive survey of art so that we are able to salvage as much of it as possible out of the limbo of oblivion and decadence. I am very glad that the Lalit Kala Akadami has undertaken this important work and already started collecting the necessary data and compiling whatever informa-

tion is available. This is a work of national importance as it alone can give us a full idea of the history of Indian art and its evolution and development during the last two thousand years or more.

The publications of the Lalit Kala Akadami to which the Chairman has referred in his speech will be fulfilling a long-felt want. In the past one great drawback has been the prevailing ignorance among the people about various schools of art and their work. Your brochures should come handy for dispelling that ignorance and educating the people about Indian art. I hope that the efforts of the Lalit Kala Akadami will bear fruit and the people would be responding more and more to the call of art.

With these few words I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Third Exhibition of Indian Paintings and Sculptures.

IMPACT OF PLANNING ON NATION'S PROSPERITY.*

On the auspicious occasion of the seventh anniversary of our Republic, I feel happy to offer my greetings and good wishes to my countrymen. On this day it is customary to rejoice and look back in order to assess the achievements of the year that has passed and also to prepare ourselves for still greater tasks in the coming year in a spirit of dedication and cautious self-confidence. For a nation occupied with a programme of reconstruction covering all aspects of life, such an opportunity is of utmost importance. It helps us in measuring our capacity as against the jobs to be undertaken during the year that begins today.

We all know that our goal is the establishment of a Welfare State in this country. Let us see how far we have advanced on that path. Soon after we became masters of our destiny, we decided to follow the pattern of planned economy. In course of time we launched our first Five-Year Plan which was fully implemented last year, yielding place to the second Five-Year Plan, the working of which is now in operation. The targets of production and progress fixed in the First Plan have been luckily achieved, in certain cases the results being an improvement on our targets. The achievements of this Plan are now beginning to come to surface so that the people can see and feel for themselves that the country is moving forward. Some of the river valley projects, work on which has been going apace

*President's Republic Day Broadcast to the Nation, January 25, 1957.

for years, have been completed partially. Mighty rivers like the Sutlej, the Damodar, the Mahanadi and the Tungabhadra, which have long been associated with devastating floods, have at last been dammed. Their waters rushing into the newly-laid canals are a symbol of hope for the people of the respective regions. The same can be said about the power generated from plants attached to these projects. Cheap electricity turning the wheels of industry and illuminating the dark countryside is in the eyes of the common folk the first tangible fruit of our nation-building programme. To the generality of people it is an indication of the potentialities of our planning.

It is, however, in the countryside, in India's out-of-the-way and far-flung villages that a silent, but real, revolution has been taking place. Our villages today are in a state of ferment. The National Extension Service and the Community Development Programme have widened the mental horizon of our village folk who are lending full help and co-operation to the Administration in changing the face of rural India. As the nation-building work progresses, villagers are shedding old prejudices and learning to help themselves with new implements and fresh ideas. It is the prosperity of this section of the community which is our foremost hope, because among themselves the villagers account for about three-fourths of India's population even today.

In respect of industrialisation also we have made sufficient progress during the year. Two new major steel plants are being erected and a programme of increasing the all-round industrial output of the country is under way. Along with the establishment of heavy industries, we are also reviving and giving encouragement to small-scale industries. These latter industries are easier to set up and manage and, what is far more important, they have great potentialities for providing employment to large numbers of people. The importance of this work cannot be exaggerated in view of the high incidence of unemployment in our country, particularly among the educated sections of the society. Putting our young men on to industries, which, in order to produce more do not have to resort to labour-saving devices, is the best way of improving the prospects of employment in India. It is for this reason that the Government have been devoting special attention to the needs of small-scale industries and have made a much bigger provision for them in the second Five-Year Plan than could be made in the First Plan.

One of the highlights of last year was the world-wide celebrations in connection with the 2500th anniversary of the **maha-**

parinirvana of Lord Buddha. India as the land of Buddhism, where the Lord lived and preached his gospel and from where the **bhikshus** went forth in all directions to spread the benign message of the Buddha, was naturally the centre of these celebrations. The various public meetings, exhibitions and seminars held throughout the country in this connection have given an impetus to Indian art and thought which had already started surging through the impact of the forces released by our freedom. It is gratifying to see that side by side with our march to economic prosperity, there are signs of a renaissance focusing attention on our great heritage in the domains of art and literature.

While we can claim that all that is possible for husbanding our material resources in order to increase the nation's wealth and for reviving our age-old traditions of art and learning is being done, we particularly feel happy that the march of democracy continues unhindered in India. Beset though we were and still are with all manner of problems that a vast country determined to raise the standard of living of its teeming millions has to contend with, we held our first general elections five years ago. That witnessed the world's largest democracy going to the polls. We are now preparing for the next general elections in accordance with the provision of our Constitution. The success with which we held the last elections and with which we hope to conduct the forthcoming elections, will do us credit, so that even our worst critics will agree that democracy is taking firm root in India.

We feel happy that in the light of our principles and deep-rooted convictions we are able now and then to make our humble contribution to the maintenance of peace, amity and goodwill among nations. The doctrine of Panch Sheela, based on non-aggression, non-interference and peaceful co-existence has found wider acceptance among nations of the world during last year. It is, indeed, fortunate that the outbreak of hostilities on Egyptian soil, which came as a grave threat to world peace, was localised and later brought to an end through the efforts of the United Nations and its peace-loving members.

In recent months we have had the privilege of receiving in this country His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia, the President of Syria, the Prime Minister of China and Their Holinesses the Dalai and Panchen Lamas.

Happy as we feel to see that the country is moving forward on the road to prosperity, we cannot afford to be complacent. The road leading to the valley of progress is necessarily zigzag

with all the ups and downs associated with a difficult terrain. United by the bond of common objective and achievement we must strive hard till the goal is reached. In this great task of nation-building the co-operation of every citizen, high or low, will count at every step. Let us resolve on this memorable day to dedicate ourselves to this work of ushering in the desired era of welfare, happiness and prosperity in this country.

Let me once again send you, men and women of India, my greetings and all good wishes on this day of rejoicing.

TO INDIAN NATIONALS ABROAD.*

The celebration of this auspicious day, the Seventh Anniversary of our Republic, brings with it the welcome opportunity for me to address a few words to Indian Nationals living in various foreign lands. To all of them I send my greetings and best wishes for their happiness and prosperity.

I would like to tell my countrymen overseas that India is well-set on the path of progress, not only material prosperity but also cultural advancement. The successful implementation of the First Five Year Plan and the still higher targets which we have fixed in the multifarious fields of production in our Second Five Year Plan will convey some idea of our developmental programme and the results so far achieved. We have set before us a very high ideal; namely the establishment of a Welfare State in which every citizen gets a minimum of his requirements of material comfort and is assured freedom from certain basic wants. The distance we have to traverse is long and not so easy to cover, but our unflinching determination and the directives embodied in our Constitution are a guarantee that we will not swerve from this path. The practical steps so far taken for increasing the national wealth and for bridging the gulf of disparity between man and man as also for the rooting out of illiteracy are an earnest of our endeavours to achieve that goal. Our villages, which have so far remained backward, are now in a state of ferment. The National Extension Service and the Community Development Programme are gradually transforming our countryside.

About our foreign policy and the part which India has been playing in international affairs, I need not say much, particularly to you, who are, perhaps, in a better position to adjudge the effect and success of our actions. As you know, we are wedded to a policy of neutrality, or, in other words, friendli-

*Republic Day message to Indian Nationals abroad, January 25th, 1957.

ness towards all nations in the interest of world peace and the progress of mankind. More than ever before, we are convinced that the Five Principles embodied in the doctrine of Panch Sheela can provide the best solution to the world's ills. In our moves in international affairs we are actuated by these ideals and do our best to act up to them. Luckily, several countries of Asia, Europe and Africa agree with us and subscribe to these principles.

Let me remind you that as Indian nationals living in other countries, some responsibility devolves upon you also. The manner in which you conduct yourself in the countries where you are living and your activities lie, can lend weight to our claims, our policies and our actions. I am sure in your day-to-day behaviour you will always keep the honour of your motherland in mind and do nothing which might sully its good name.

Once again I greet you all on this day of rejoicing and wish you the best of luck.

INDIA'S TRADITION OF PEACE.*

I thank you for your good wishes. This is a day of rejoicing and also a day of reckoning for us when we must look back at the life of seven years of our Republic in order to see how far we have gone and to be sure that we are following the right road. You have been good enough to remind us of the great tradition of peace in this country. It is truly a tradition which goes back to the dim days of history, to more than 2500 years. One manifestation of this tradition was when the Great Asoka inscribed his edicts on rock and stone and we had a more recent manifestation of it not long ago when we saw it acted in flesh and blood in Mahatma Gandhi who died just two years before this Republic was born. Peace and non-violence, therefore, are in our blood. Therefore, when our Prime Minister cries for peace, he utters the cry of not only his own heart or of the heart of India but of the heart of the world which, we know, is now tired of all wars and violence.

May I refer to a historical incident to which you have also made a reference. The conversion of the Great Asoka came as a result of sanguinary war. He was a great general and fighter and led his army to conquer and subdue Orissa, which he succeeded in doing after great bloodshed. After his great

*Reply to the speech made by the Doven of the Diplomatic Corps, felicitating the President and the Indian Republic, New Delhi, January 25, 1957.

victory he returned to the teachings of Buddha, because he experienced a revolt in his heart. Today we can just remind ourselves of the last great war, and may work for the day when the world will be able to do without war and bloodshed. Let us all join together in prayer and in effort to achieve that goal. Let us hope that that day will dawn in our life-time. We in this country have been making our contribution to this. We can only hope that our effort will be appreciated and will bear fruit.

NATIONAL CADET AND AUXILIARY CORPS.*

I am so very happy to be able to receive you all this afternoon here. I need hardly say how pleased I was to see the March Past at the time of the Parade which we had on the Republic Day and I wish to offer to all of you my congratulations on the very successful and inspiring show which you gave us.

I am very happy to learn the progress that has been made both in the National Cadet Corps and the Auxiliary Corps during the last year and particularly that young girls are coming up in larger and larger numbers to join the Corps and you are taking steps to enrol many more in the coming years. We count a great deal on the National Cadet Corps because out of this we expect a great many to come up into the regular forces and we expect them to defend the country against all aggression wherever and whenever it comes.

You are aware that our policy is one of peace and we have no designs against anyone else, but at the same time we have to be vigilant and cautious and we have to be prepared for all emergencies if anyone chooses to attack us. It is for this reason that our Defence Forces and officers of the Auxiliary Force in whatever station they may be, are expected to be always prepared to do their duty by the country.

I am happy that these Cadet Corps are becoming more and more popular and larger and larger numbers of young men and women are coming to join them. At the present moment the difficulty is not in getting recruits but in making arrangements for training all who are willing to be trained. The Government of course has to take many things into consideration and it has set a limit to its activities and within these limits they have to work. I am happy that this limitation comes not from lack of

*Address to officers and men of the cadet and auxiliary corps, January 28, 1957.

enthusiasm but from other causes with which you are not concerned but which the Government imposes in the interests of the country itself.

We are all hoping that your service in other respects also will be remarkable. I am glad to learn that you have been taking due share in social work. If I mistake not, I saw some of the work being done by some of you in connection with the Kosi Project and all that I can say is that I was highly pleased with what I saw and what I saw was not unexpected but was only in fulfilment of the hopes which we all entertain from our young people. I wish you good luck and success in your career and I only hope that you will always remember your duty to the country and duty to your people.

On this occasion I am glad to be able to welcome some cadets who have come from other Commonwealth countries. It is good and inspiring to have comrades from other places who have undergone similar training and with whom the cadets of this country can exchange their experience and from whom they can learn some things and to whom they can communicate some things which might not be altogether valueless. I am therefore happy to have this occasion of meeting officers and cadets who have come from the United Kingdom, Australia and Ceylon and I wish them good luck and success in their careers also. Thank you.

FAREWELL TO OUTGOING MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.*

Members of Parliament,

I am addressing you today after a full year, a year which has witnessed significant happenings in the world and considerable developments in our own country. We are meeting at a time when general elections are being held all over the country, and a new Parliament is coming into being as a result of these elections. This is the last occasion when I am addressing this Parliament. Some of you will come back to represent your constituencies in the new Parliament and some of you may not return. But I have no doubt that wherever your field of work may lie, it will be dedicated to the great task of building up this country of ours. I wish you success and good fortune in your field of activity.

2. Since I addressed you last, the world has seen a period of high tensions, particularly in the Middle East, and of con-

*Address delivered by the President of India to Parliament, March 18, 1957.

lict ending in the invasion of Egypt. The intervention of the United Nations and the impact of world opinion resulted in the withdrawal of the invading armies from Egypt; but the conflict has not only done great damage to Egypt but has added to the tensions which were showing signs of relaxation, and has left in its wake many problems to be resolved. Our country, which is deeply involved both on account of her concern for world peace and co-operation and her own interest, has sought to assist in resolving these difficulties. India has accepted greater burdens including participation in the United Nations Emergency Force constituted by the decision of the General Assembly of the United Nations which called for the withdrawal of the invading forces.

3. In central Europe, the events in Hungary have disturbed us greatly and here, as elsewhere, we have stood for the withdrawal of foreign forces and against their use against peoples and national movements. At the same time, we have used our best efforts to assist in finding solutions to the problem at its various stages and extended our sympathy and our token of assistance to the people of Hungary.

4. The position in the Middle East casts its shadow over the prospects of cooperation and peace and the Suez Canal awaits opening for traffic. The policy of military pacts has divided the nations in this region and brought the apparatus of war more and more into Asia. We must, however, note with relief that the conflict in this region did not grow to greater dimensions.

5. Our Government and people rejoice in the fact that the former British colony of the Gold Coast, along with the former Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration, has now been constituted into the independent and sovereign State of Ghana and a full member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

6. We welcome the admission of Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, Japan and Ghana to the United Nations. The continued exclusion of Mongolia and the denial to the rightful representatives of China of their place in the United Nations, cause us deep concern and we continue to devote our endeavours to remedy this situation.

7. We hope that Malaya will soon become a free and independent State and this will further limit the sphere of colonialism and extend the area of national freedom in Asia.

8. In the United Nations, the Indian Delegation, in the Eleventh Session of the General Assembly, has made effective and useful contributions in the prolonged debates on crucial issues in regard to the Middle East, Algeria and Cyprus, and

contributed to peaceful solutions and procedures in respect of them. Disarmament has made no progress, but the United Nations unanimously resolved to continue its efforts to consider all proposals before it, including the proposals made by India. The Government of India are happy to have been able to assist in promoting this resolution.

9. Our country, which was a member of the Preparatory Commission of the International Atomic Energy Agency, can derive satisfaction that the Agency has now been established. May it fulfil the hopes that atomic energy will be harnessed for peaceful uses and also diverted from destructive purposes.

10. I had the happy privilege of visiting our near neighbour, Nepal; and the Vice-President represented our country at the Coronation of His Majesty King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah. The endeavours of the Nepal Government and people for economic and social development have our full sympathy, and we are happy that we have been able to extend technical and economic assistance to them in the implementation of their Five Year Plan.

11. The Buddha Jayanti celebrations in India gave us the opportunity of welcoming in this country the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, as well as leaders of Buddhism from different parts of the world. These celebrations reminded us and the world afresh of the great message of peace and compassion of the Buddha, which is so much needed in the world today.

12. We have been privileged to receive in our country many distinguished visitors to whom my Government and the people of India have extended their traditional hospitality. Among these eminent guests of ours have been Their Imperial Majesties the Shahenshah and the Empress of Iran, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia, President Shukri El-Kuwatly of Syria, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, China, Nepal and Denmark, the Vice-Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister of the Soviet Union, the Deputy Prime Minister of Sudan and the Foreign Ministers of the United States, France and the United Kingdom. The President of the United Nations General Assembly for 1956, Dr. Jose Maza, and the Secretary General of the United Nations were also among our distinguished visitors. Parliamentary, cultural, trade and other goodwill delegations from Burma, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Germany, Indonesia, Japan, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Syria and Uganda have also visited our country.

13. The Vice-President paid visits to the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, East Africa, the Central African Federation, Indonesia and Japan and received a very warm welcome everywhere.

14. My Prime Minister visited the United States at the invitation of President Eisenhower. The visit and the talks between the President of the United States and my Prime Minister have assisted in the promotion of understanding between our two countries and greater appreciation of each other's point of view. My Government feel confident that it will lead to increasing cooperation in all fields on the basis of mutual respect and understanding.

15. My Prime Minister also visited Canada at the invitation of Mr. Louis St. Laurent, the Prime Minister of Canada. His visit has helped to further enrich the relations between Canada and our country, which have always been very friendly and close.

16. My Government regret that no progress has been made in regard to the solution of the problem of "apartheid" and discrimination against Africans and people of Indian origin in South Africa. This problem once again received the consideration of the United Nations at the instance of my Government. A further appeal to the Governments concerned to find a solution by negotiations has been made by the United Nations. The Government of India, as in the past, has readily subscribed to this resolution.

17. My Government deeply regret that Goa still continues to be an unhappy colonial outpost of the Portuguese Government, where every kind of liberty is suppressed and economic stagnation prevails. It is the firm policy of my Government that Goa should become free from colonial domination and should share in the freedom of the rest of India.

18. My Government regret that its relations with Pakistan continue to present difficulties and there has been no abatement in Pakistan of the campaigns of hatred and "Jehad". The policy of the Government of India and the general approach of our people have been that we shall not respond to these with hatred, but shall continue our endeavours to promote friendly relations while defending our land and our legitimate interests. The exodus of people from East Pakistan to India continued throughout this past year and assumed alarming proportions. Altogether, over four million people have come from East Pakistan to India, and these persons have cast a

heavy burden on our country and, more especially, on the State of West Bengal.

19. The problem of Kashmir was considered by the Security Council of the United Nations once again, at the request of the Government of Pakistan. The Government of India's position has been stated in clear and unambiguous terms, that the Jammu and Kashmir State is and has been a constituent State of the Indian Union since October 1947, like other States which acceded to the Union. The present situation in Kashmir has arisen from aggression and on illegal occupation of Union territory by Pakistan in violation of international law and agreements and engagements reached in pursuance of United Nations resolutions. The Security Council has resolved last month to send its then President to Pakistan and India to confer with the two Governments. The Government of India, in accordance with its general policy, has agreed to receive and extend hospitality to Mr. Jarring of Sweden who is expected to arrive here soon.

20. The world situation as a whole, which was beginning to show some signs of improvement, gives us cause for less optimism at present. Our own country, however, continues to have friendly relations with all countries, but the deterioration in the world situation has adverse results on the development of peaceful relations and cooperation and economic development in our part of the world also. More particularly, the policy of military pacts based upon the balance of power, mutual suspicion and fear, has increased tensions in Asia and has led to the increase of armaments and extended the area of cold war. It continues to be the firm belief of my Government that only by a peaceful approach and agreed settlements can be found the right and hopeful way for solutions of the world's problems.

21. During the past year, the reorganisation of the States was completed, and this great task which had unfortunately roused much passion in some parts of the country, was accomplished. During the past year also, the first Five-Year Plan was successfully completed and the second Five-Year Plan begun. This Plan, while continuing to lay stress on greater food production, emphasises the need for industrial development, more especially in regard to heavy industry. The Community Projects and the National Extension Service have been extended with phenomenal rapidity over our rural areas and now cover two hundred and twenty thousand villages and a rural population of one hundred and twenty-nine millions. In the community development scheme, special stress is being laid on the development of small-scale and cottage industries.

22. Mineral surveys have yielded promising discoveries of oil, and many new deposits of uranium ore have been located in Rajasthan and Bihar. The finds of thorium and uranium minerals in large quantities have more than doubled our known reserves of these minerals. The work of our Atomic Energy Department has made great progress, and India's first atomic reactor began operations last year. This is the first reactor to go into operation in Asia, outside the Soviet Union.

23. We are about to complete the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan. Certain stresses and strains have emerged in the course of this year. Prices of certain commodities have risen and there has been a substantial draught on the foreign exchange resources of the country. These factors reflect the growing tempo of development in the country, in the public as well as in the private sectors. The growth of internal demand for consumption and for investment is a concomitant of rapid development and, up to a point, the emergence of such pressures is a sign that the resources of the country are being stretched in the interests of development. It is, however, essential to ensure that these pressures do not go too far. Government are determined to take appropriate measures to restrain the rise in prices and to reduce the drain on foreign exchange resources.

24. The major problem before the country in this context is that of conserving and increasing its foreign exchange resources. For a country which starts with insufficient facilities for producing machinery and equipment, a plan of industrialisation necessarily involves heavy foreign exchange expenditure. Since it is difficult in the short run to enlarge foreign exchange earnings substantially, developing economies require an inflow of external resources in the initial stages. It is, however, incumbent on the country concerned to earn the maximum foreign exchange it can and to exercise the utmost economy in the matter of imports. The recent agreement with the United States Government, under which large quantities of wheat, rice and cotton will be available to us on credit terms, will help in checking the rise in prices and will contribute to the furtherance of the Plan. Considerable external finance will, we expect, be forthcoming from international agencies like the World Bank and from friendly countries. Nevertheless, the bulk of the resources required for development must come from within the country and the community has to be organised for a big production effort to make this possible.

25. The Second Plan gives high priority to industrialisation and to the diversification of the economic structure. This, in turn, requires a substantial increase in the production of basic

necessities like food and cloth and of raw materials required for the developing industries. The Plan calls for more investment, and one of its principal aims is to enlarge employment opportunities. New incomes created by investment and employment are mostly spent on food and cloth and it is only if their supplies can be increased rapidly that the Plan can go forward without creating an inflationary situation. An increase in agricultural production thus constitutes the pivot of developmental effort and for this we need the fullest cooperation of every section of the community.

26. A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1957-58 will be laid before you for the purpose of passing votes on account authorising expenditure for a part of that year. In addition, a similar statement in respect of the Kerala State will also be laid before you for passing a vote on account for a part of the year for that State.

27. This session of Parliament will be a brief one and no major or controversial legislation will be taken up during this session. Some Ordinances which have been promulgated since the last session will be placed before Parliament.

28. Five years ago this Parliament came into existence representing the vast electorate of this great country, and it has laboured for the well-being and advancement of India and for peace and cooperation in the world. These labours have produced substantial results which we see all round us in the country, and I wish to offer you, Members of Parliament, my congratulations on the great tasks that have been accomplished. But there is no resting place for any of us and the great story of the building up of a new and prosperous India will continue to unfold itself, bringing happiness to all our people and serving the cause of world peace and cooperation.

29. I earnestly trust that the message of the Buddha, whose anniversary we recently celebrated, will ever guide us, and the spirit of the Father of the Nation will continue to inspire us.

INAUGURATION OF FIRST CHILDREN'S FILM.*

Like all other things which we call instructive, films have also a place in the education of children. We cannot help being impressed by what we see on the screen; this impression is all the deeper on the minds of children. Films, therefore, have a special importance for children. However, it is not necessary

*Speech made while inaugurating the Children's Film "Jaldeep".

that all those films which are interesting and instructive for adults, should also interest children. This consideration renders making of special children's films necessary. I am very glad that we in this country have started giving attention to this question. The Children's Film Society has been established for this purpose.

At a time when the Indian nation is determined to liquidate illiteracy and extend the boundaries of knowledge as wide as possible, we must press the films into service to advance this great nation-building activity. Films are now accepted as an excellent medium of child education in all advanced countries. Educationists all over the world are at one that a child's mental and intellectual evolution can be achieved easier through films than mere traditional reading and writing. I am sure if exhibition of suitable films is made a part of child education, it will be of great advantage to our country. Both the Government and the film industry have realised the importance of this fact. I hope we shall soon be producing suitable films in sufficient number so as to ensure their regular exhibition according to a well-considered programme in schools and cinema-houses.

What kind of films we should have for children would depend on the decision of the adults, because the responsibility of making such films would devolve upon them. But something must be done to ascertain the children's likes and dislikes. We must make an effort to find how they react to the various types of films.

"Jaldeep", which is being inaugurated today, is the first original children's film prepared by the Children's Film Society. It is a fine film which provides recreation, education and information in an assimilable form. I hope this film will meet with success and the Children's Film Society will keep producing such films.

WORK FOR RELIEF OF DISTRESS.*

Once again I have pleasure in extending a warm welcome to all the delegates who have assembled here this evening to attend the Annual General Meeting of the Indian Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association.

I have listened to Rajkumariji's interesting narration of the activities of these two organisations for the year 1956. I am in complete accord with the object of these humanitarian

*Address at the Annual General Meeting of the Red Cross and St. John Ambulance Association, New Delhi, 27th April, 1957.

organisations and I am eager actively to help promote their activities.

I wish to express my appreciation of the selfless service of the officers and members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade who, I am happy to note, have rendered first aid to thousands of injured persons in the course of the year.

The Indian Red Cross Society did commendable work for the relief of the distressed in flood affected areas in the country. Undaunted by adverse conditions of distance and inadequate personnel, the Society took effective steps to meet emergent situations and unexpected demands. The timely distribution of milk, medicines, blankets and clothing which brought urgently needed relief to thousands of stricken people was in the best traditions of the Red Cross. The substantial assistance generously received from sister Societies at this time of need provided another proof of the fundamental unity that animates the Red Cross movement. It is also gratifying that our Society was able to extend help to National Red Cross Societies faced with disaster in other parts of the world.

I am glad to observe that in spite of the heavy calls upon its resources the Society was able to continue unhampered its normal activities for the civilian public and the Defence personnel, nearly four lakhs of rupees having been spent for the latter from its headquarters funds last year for providing amenity stores to service patients and for looking after permanently disabled ex-servicemen at the Bangalore Red Cross Home.

No activity of the Red Cross calls for so much recognition as the maternal and child welfare services rendered by the Society for the improvement of the health of mothers and children in the land. It is also pleasing to know in this connection that the Society's plans for the provision of such services to the people in the backward areas of Tehri-Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh have taken a definite shape and that five centres are already functioning satisfactorily in that area. I am glad that it is proposed to establish a few more centres in the near future.

It is heartening to know that there has been remarkable increase in the number of Junior Red Cross members. The Junior Red Cross has developed from small beginnings to a powerful force of over 17 lakhs of children pledged to the practice of the cardinal rules of health and to render service to others. I feel sure that the more we stimulate interest for the Red Cross in the rising generation the more firmly is our Society

letting down strong roots which will ensure constant and healthy growth in future.

Last year I pleaded for further extension of the Society's Membership and I am glad this year's drive has shown appreciable progress in this respect. There is however still room for great improvement and I hope that future campaigns will ensure greater success in that direction.

Though the postponement of the International Red Cross Conference which was scheduled to be held in New Delhi in January-February caused us disappointment, it is gratifying that new dates in October-November have been fixed for the Conference. We earnestly hope that this meeting of the supreme parliament of the Red Cross will considerably lessen the tension in the world.

Before concluding let me congratulate all of you for the good work you have done so far. It is your privilege to belong to an organisation wholly devoted to the service of mankind. No human institution is perfect and the most excellent among them are but an approximation to the ideal. The Red Cross stands high and commands respect and homage from millions. Its principles are non-controversial and their application impartial. Cutting across national frontiers and disregarding all narrow prejudices it unites all in a common bond of service. The contribution of the Red Cross for the attainment of peace through humanitarian services is also well known. I therefore feel certain that it will receive generous support from all people in our country.

REHABILITATING LEPROSY PATIENTS.*

Year after year we meet to review the work of the Kusht Nivaran Sangh and to assess the progress made in fighting leprosy and providing relief to the victims of this disease. Not long ago leprosy was considered to be incurable and viewed with a horror which largely prevented effective contact for purposes of relief between the public and the sufferers. Thanks to the activities of humanitarian organisations like yours and Christian missions and thanks to the lead given by Mahatma Gandhi in this connection, the feeling of horror towards leprosy and its victims is now getting gradually replaced by a feeling of sympathy and compassion. We can say that some headway has been made in eradicating leprosy and the providing of proper relief to those who suffer from it.

*Address at the Annual General Meeting of the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh on 27th April, 1957.

I am glad that pointed attention has been drawn by the Chairman to the urgency of the physical and social rehabilitation of leprosy patients. I particularly welcome the stress which the Chairman has placed on the role of voluntary agencies in bringing to the fore the human needs of the patients. Only when we have done our utmost to enable the patient to function again as an active member of the community, can we claim to have cured him. In this task a voluntary agency like the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh has a great duty and a valuable opportunity. The importance of voluntary endeavour is enhanced rather than diminished by Government's supplementary help. The initial impetus for social advance has to be provided by voluntary assistance. Voluntary organisations have still a vital role to play in the field of humanitarian work. I hope they would keep up the missionary spirit and bring governmental agencies under the impact of that spirit.

I congratulate you all on the good record of work during the past year and wish you wider opportunities of success.

INAUGURATION OF SECOND PARLIAMENT.*

Members of Parliament,

You and the members of the legislatures of the States, chosen by an electorate of nearly two hundred million voters of our country, in accord with our Constitutional procedures, have called me once again to the high office of the President of the Republic. I am deeply conscious of the honour and I am grateful for the confidence which you have reposed in me. It shall be my endeavour to continue to deserve the trust and the affection of which I have been so long the happy recipient.

2. It gives me great pleasure to welcome you, as Members of the second Parliament in the history of our Republic. Some of you have been members of one or other of the Houses of Parliament, or come to Parliament with rich experience in your State legislatures. There are others among you who have been elected to Parliament for the first time. All of you will find, in your life and duties as Members of Parliament, both in the legislature and your constituencies, immense and varied opportunities and fields of constructive work in the service of our country and people. I wish you all good fortune and a very successful tenure of Parliamentary life.

*Address delivered to Parliament, May 13th, 1957.

3. We are in the second year of our Second Five Year Plan. There has been some inevitable slowing down in the first year of the Plan, resulting partly from the reorganisation of the States. This imposes a greater strain and calls for added effort both by the Government and the people during the remaining period of that Plan. My Government are fully conscious of this.

4. The economic situation, more particularly in relation to the Plan, confronts us with factors which, while they do not warrant grave apprehensions, are matters of serious concern and they are engaging the attention of my Ministers. The deficit in the Central and State budgets and the strain on our foreign exchange resources occasioned by the requirements of the Plan and of industrial development generally, as well as by external factors, call for determined and planned efforts. They call for both conservation and expansion of our resources by effecting real economies, by planned restrictions of certain imports, by expansion of export trade and by increasing national self-sufficiency both in the fields of industry and agriculture. They will call for savings to be utilised for production and the abandonment of unproductive and anti-social habits of hoarding and speculation. These can only be effectively achieved by efforts and vigilance not only on the part of Government but by the people as well.

5. It would be the easier, but not the gainful or constructive way, to bridge the gaps to which I have referred, by halting development. This will, however, provide no real or long-term remedy. Our endeavour has to be to mobilise and conserve resources for greater productivity and for maintaining and improving development. My Government are fully aware of the problem and of the effort required. They are equally concerned that our temporary difficulties should not lead us in the direction of retarding progress and development, but that the difficulties should be overcome, where necessary, by reconsideration and revision of methods and by planned mobilisation of resources, and not by either the abandonment or slowing down of the progress towards our objectives.

6. Public opinion plays a large and well-nigh conclusive part in the success of such endeavour. The determination and fervour of our people, their readiness to accept discipline, to respond to the call for efforts and their resolve not to be led into anti-social behaviour, such as by hoarding or wasteful spending, alone will help the country to pass successfully through the present crucial period of our Second Five Year Plan.

7. Members of Parliament: the country looks to you a great deal for that sustained and special effort in support of the policies and endeavours which my Government will initiate in this behalf, which will help us to surmount difficulties and to achieve success.

8. While food production has increased, and the increases have been maintained, except for the results of natural calamities, more especially in certain parts of Bihar and the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, we have a considerable way to go before our country becomes fully self-sufficient in food. There are signs of slight abatement in the rising trend of food prices and my Government have taken several measures to bring about this trend. Intensive efforts have increased food production and improved crop prospects. Except in the case of some of the coarse grains adversely affected by climatic conditions, the crop yields and estimates not only do not indicate a shortfall but have recorded appreciable increases.

9. My Government have also entered into arrangements for necessary imports of food grains and for building up reserves which will prevent price increases and bridge the gaps that still remain. A large storage construction programme has been undertaken. The behaviour of the public is a large and often determining factor in preventing rise in food prices which is often caused by the apprehension of shortages resulting in the resort to hoarding as well as to the tendency to panic. The food situation, thanks to the increased production and the steps taken by my Government, does not warrant any lack of public confidence in regard to supplies. My Government propose to keep Parliament informed of the position in regard to food and the estimates of supply and requirements. It may be hoped that a knowledge of the true facts will help to allay needless apprehensions and prevent artificial shortages and higher prices.

10. My Government are happy to state that their decision to lay stress on food production and agriculture generally in the Community Project plans has yielded handsome results. The Community Development and the National Extension Service programmes have made great strides in achievement. Higher targets in agriculture, health and sanitation have been achieved. The National Sample Survey shows that, at the end of the first Five Year Plan, the crop yields in the Community Development project and National Extension Service Blocks areas were approximately 25 per cent. higher than for the country as a whole. The Community Projects and National Extension Blocks now cover 222 thousand villages.

11. State undertakings continue to make notable progress and new targets have been reached in almost every enterprise. There has also been expansion in the private sector. Khadi and Village industries will receive a further impetus with the setting up of "The Khadi and Village Industries Commission" as a statutory body. Among the major new projects that will soon be inaugurated is the Nayveli Lignite Project where the first mine-cut will be made this month. My Government attach importance to the building up of a plant for the manufacture of heavy machinery and steps are being taken to this end.

12. To reduce the pressure on our resources of foreign exchange, my Government are making efforts to obtain deferred payment arrangements for major projects. Long term credits for certain projects are being negotiated.

13. Consequent on the reorganisation of the States, Advisory Committees have been set up for the Union Territories and Territorial Councils have been established in Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura. A Corporation for Delhi will be soon established. A new Union Territory of the Laccadives, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands has come into existence and the Five Year Plan for the Andaman Islands at a total cost of 592.50 lakhs will include the development of communication between the islands and the mainland.

14. Shipyard construction and the building of ships of modern design have made great progress at Vishakapatnam and plans for a second shipyard are now in hand.

15. My Government have initiated measures to relieve housing shortages and promote housing standards, slum clearances and Plantation Housing Schemes and housing for low-income groups and subsidised industrial housing. An urgent requirement of Delhi and the other great cities of India is the clearance of slum areas, and this problem is receiving the consideration of the Central and State Governments and the Corporations concerned.

16. Two Ordinances have been promulgated since the last session of Parliament. Bills dealing with these Ordinances will be placed before Parliament. These are:—

(i) The Life Insurance Corporation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1957.

(ii) The Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Ordinance, 1957.

17. My Government will also submit to Parliament a number of other Bills during the current session.

18. An interim statement of revenue and expenditure for 1957-58 was presented to Parliament during its last session and votes on account authorising expenditure for a part of the year were passed. That statement of revenue and expenditure will be presented again to Parliament in this session with such changes as are considered necessary, and Parliament will be asked to approve funds for the whole year.

19. Our relations with foreign countries continue to be friendly. Since I addressed Parliament last, we have had the pleasure of receiving as the guests of the Republic, Mr. Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Prime Minister of Poland, Dr. Heinrich Von Brentano, Foreign Minister of the Federal German Republic and Mr. Oskaldo Sainte Marie, Foreign Minister of Chile.

20. My Prime Minister will attend the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London at the end of June. During his absence abroad, he will take the opportunity of visiting Syria, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, Egypt and Sudan.

21. While the situation in the Middle East continues to be unsatisfactory and charged with tension, it is a matter of gratification that the Suez Canal has been re-opened for navigation. My Government welcome the Declaration made by the Government of Egypt, prior to the opening of the Canal, which reaffirms the Convention of 1888 and the determination of Egypt to continue to abide by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of International Law. The Declaration provides for the reference of disputes arising from interpretations of the Convention and its application as well as certain other matters to the World Court and also to abide by its decisions. The main provisions in the Declaration are, in the view of my Government, reasonable and adequate to safeguard the legitimate interests of the world community, if they are worked in a spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding by all concerned. A notable feature of the Declaration is that, while it is made by the Government of Egypt, that Government has declared that it has the status of an International Instrument and this has been registered with the United Nations. My Government feel that this Declaration and its status as an International Instrument is a notable contribution to the lowering of tensions in that area and will provide a solution of the difficulties that followed the nationalisation of the Suez Canal.

22. Dr. Gunnar Jarring, a former President of the Security Council, visited Pakistan and India in pursuance of a Resolution passed by the Security Council on the 21st of February this year

at the end of the debate on Kashmir. Dr. Jarring visited India twice and conferred with my Prime Minister. He has submitted a report to the Security Council.

23. The sub-committee of the Disarmament Commission has been sitting in London for some time, but no agreement appears to have been reached on any aspect of Disarmament, including the suspension of explosions of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. The proposals of my Government in regard to Disarmament were once again referred by the General Assembly of the United Nations at the last session, along with all other proposals, to the Disarmament Commission.

24. Meanwhile, the United States, the Soviet Union, and now the United Kingdom continue their experiments to explode these weapons of mass destruction. World opinion is increasingly concerned about the harmful effects of radiation which has been increasingly and more frequently felt in various parts of the world. The demand for the suspension of these explosions is widespread and continues to be impressed upon the nuclear powers, but hitherto without success.

25. My Government do not consider that the compromise proposals suggested from diverse quarters for the so-called limitation of these explosions or for their registration will ever rid the world of their harmful effects, or open the way to the abandonment of these weapons of mass destruction. On the other hand, such regularisation of these tests tends to make thermo-nuclear war legitimate and as having the sanction of the world community. Reports of experiments with more and more deadly weapons of war continue to be received. It is however a matter of some gratification that the volume of world opinion against the continuance of experiments has reached a higher level than ever before. My Prime Minister in a statement before the Lok Sabha in April 1954 put forward for consideration the proposal for a "Standstill Agreement" to suspend these explosions. These proposals have since gained much support and the movement of world opinion in favour of it has gathered momentum. My Government will continue to exert their influence with other nations and in the counsels of the world to bring about the abandonment of these test explosions and the prohibition of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.

26. We meet here today one hundred years after the great rising which began in Meerut and spread over considerable parts of India. That was the first major challenge to foreign rule and it threw up notable figures, famous in India's history.

The uprising was cruelly suppressed, but the spirit of freedom and the desire to be free from foreign domination continued and found expression on many subsequent occasions. Ultimately it led to a great national movement which followed peaceful methods and succeeded in achieving the independence of India and the establishment of this Republic of ours. We pay tribute now to all those who gave their lives or otherwise suffered so that India may be free.

27. India has been independent for nearly ten years now and during this period Parliament has laboured for the well-being and advancement of this country and her people and for peace and cooperation in the world. These labours have produced substantial results which we see all round us in the country. The progress we have made during these years in our own land has produced in our people hope and self-reliance. This is a substantial foundation on which we can build for the future.

28. Abroad, my Government have striven strenuously to help to lower existing tensions in the world and to serve the cause of peace. The country has also accepted heavy responsibilities in the pursuit of this policy, in regard to maintaining the independence of its approach as well as in making contributions to the maintenance of peace, as in Korea, Indo-China and now in the Middle East.

29. The tasks that confront us both at home and abroad are not only considerable but at times appear overwhelming. But these tasks have to be faced, difficulties surmounted and objectives achieved if the fruits of independence are to be ensured to our people and if we are to help the world being spared the continual stress and horror of impending catastrophe.

30. My Government will continue their strenuous endeavours in all these directions, to the best of their capacity, conscious of the confidence reposed in them by the country, and fortified by the conviction that despite clouds of war, and even despair, the desire for survival and progress is inherent in humanity. Our capacities and resources are limited and our voice in the world may be but small. But neither our national interests nor our history and traditions, nor our convictions chart any other course for us. Happily for us, this is the common aim and the firm desire of all our people.

Members of Parliament, I wish you success in your labours.

ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY AND PROSPERITY.*

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me begin with a word of thanks for your good wishes and for the congratulations which you have offered to me on my re-election. Indeed, India at the present moment is a young Republic, but the tradition of democracy is not new to us altogether. At the time when republics were first established in parts of Greece and perhaps some centuries even before that, we had a number of republics spread over different corners of this country, and they flourished for well over five or six hundred years. It is true that after that these republics ceased to exist, and we had forgotten even the traditions of republics in this country. It was therefore not unnatural for others as well as for us to be apprehensive that this experiment on a large scale might not prove as successful as we wished it to be. But we had faith in our people and we had faith in the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, and we proceeded with our Constitution-making which established this Republic in this country.

Within the last ten years we have had two general elections, and as Your Excellency has pointed out, although we have had to deal with a vast electorate which in the first elections was of the order of 172 millions and during the last elections had gone above 193 millions, we have been able to have these elections on such a vast scale without any very serious incidents anywhere. And what is more, everyone in this country feels that he has been free to cast his vote as he liked and, as Your Excellency has been good enough to point out, even parties which were not connected with and were in fact opposed to the party in power have succeeded, and in one State they have been able to capture power also. So, the tradition has been revived, and we are again now, I believe, on the high road of democracy, and as days pass, and we gain more and more experience, I have no doubt we shall be able to give an account of ourselves which will prove creditable.

Arising out of the same position, we have had these Plans, because after all what is needed is uplift, general uplift all over the country amongst the masses in their standard of living, in the matter of health and education, in fact in every department of life; and these Plans have been so conceived as to give an

*Speech at the Luncheon Party to the Diplomatic Corps at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 14th May, 1957.

all-round development to the individual and to the people at large. It is a matter of real gratification and satisfaction to us that the First Plan has proved more successful than we had anticipated. I am one of those who always believe in not having high ambitions and who believe in placing before themselves ideals which can be easily reached. If we fail, we fail miserably; if we succeed, we succeed well because we did not expect anything more. But if we achieve more than what we expected the joy is proportionately greater and the credit is also proportionately greater. Therefore when we conceived these Plans, the targets were not put too high. There may be people who say: "Well, after all, what is the value of a Plan? It raises the national income by a small percentage." But all such persons forget that when you take into consideration the vast numbers affected, the small percentage itself becomes a very big figure, and it is not easy to achieve such big figures; and we will have to exert and put all our energy in the effort. I remember some years ago when I was in the Food Ministry we calculated that the amount of deficit in the food produced in the country was only about 5 per cent., which meant really that if instead of 10 tons we raise 10½ tons, all our difficulties would be solved, and we felt that it should not be difficult to raise the productivity of the soil for that was necessary, or at any rate to raise the yield per acre by that much. And we have found that as a matter of fact the increase in the yield has been much greater than that percentage. Side by side there was also an increase in the population. So, as the yield is increasing, the consumption is also increasing, and the yield may not always be able to keep pace with the increase in the population. But we are hoping that we shall be turning the corner very soon if we have not done that already, and we shall have an easy time.

Similarly, with regard to the other targets in our Plans we have succeeded well. Now that we are entering the second year of our Second Five-Year Plan, we feel there are difficulties, but we also feel that we have surmounted difficulties in the past and, God willing, we shall surmount them in the future also because when Independence was born here ten years ago, we had to face tremendous difficulties—difficulties which were quite fit to destroy us, to break us,—but somehow or other we managed to get through those difficulties, and today there is hardly anyone in this country, and I hope there is none in the world, who is apprehensive about the future of this country. We feel that we have laid the foundations and we shall be able to go on with greater and greater speed.

A part of the same policy is also the policy of having peace not only for ourselves but for all, because peace in the world today is indivisible. You cannot have it only in one corner; you must have it all over if every corner is to be safe. Therefore our effort has been to keep ourselves in readiness to offer our help in the cause of the peace of the world, and it gives us satisfaction that our effort, howsoever humble, is available for that cause; and while there may be a misunderstanding here and there, that misunderstanding is of a small magnitude as compared with the satisfaction which is felt when we think of our efforts. Therefore it gives us great pleasure to continue in this course which we have chalked out for ourselves. And all that I can say and hope for is for a correct appreciation of the situation in this country by Your Excellencies and a correct representation of that situation to your own countries. You are here as ambassadors from your respective countries, and it is naturally expected that you would give us all the information about your own countries so that we may understand and learn. For my part I regard all of you as ambassadors on behalf of India also to your own countries so that you may correctly interpret us to your people so that they might understand and appreciate what we are doing. I have no doubt that we have had that good fortune, I hope we shall continue to enjoy that good fortune in the future.

I thank Your Excellencies for your very kind wishes and for the congratulations which you have conveyed to me.

A JUDGE OF RARE QUALITIES.*

My Lord Chief Justice, Honourable Judges, Mr. Vice-President, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is indeed a rare privilege for me to be asked to unveil the portrait of a great Judge. If I remember aright, he and I were contemporaries in college and in the early days of our practice at the Bar in Calcutta. But it was not my good fortune to know him so intimately then as I did when he came here and I was also in Delhi. During the few years that we had this association here I learnt to respect him even more than when I learnt to respect him in the earlier days, and as you have been pleased to point out, his life has been a life of dedication to the learning of law and to justice. A man of great qualities, of

*Speech at the unveiling of the portrait of the late Chief Justice Mukherjea in the Court Room of the Supreme Court on Thursday, 16th May, 1957.

great human qualities, he served the country so well that his name will be remembered when the future generations of lawyers both at the Bar and at the Bench will be studying the principles of law and the judgments in the reported decisions of the Court. A man of strong independence, of great integrity and deep learning, he shone wherever it was his lot to work. As a student, as a lawyer practising in the High Court, then as a Judge in the Calcutta High Court, and lastly as a Judge of the Federal Court and the Supreme Court, everyone came to associate with him great qualities with which he was endowed, and it is really a matter of gratification that the members of the Bar all over the country have thought fit to commemorate his memory by presenting his portrait which will continue to inspire generations yet to come.

The Attorney-General has been good enough to refer to some matters relating to the judiciary. I understand we have been experiencing difficulty in finding suitable Judges for the various High Courts, and it is a matter of great regret that in many High Courts, on account of the paucity of Judges, arrears have accumulated to a tremendous extent. Similarly you have found it difficult, if not impossible, on account of some of the rules governing the appointment and service of Judges, to get really good, first-rate men to accept appointments. I understand that in England there is a practice that if a Judgeship is offered to a gentleman practising at the Bar, he does not refuse it. He considers it his duty to accept the offer because it is a great honour. But at the same time there is no age limit to the service of a Judge, and if he loses money on account of giving up practice at the Bar, he is assured of a modicum of comfort till the evening of his days serving the country as a Judge, giving the benefit of his experience at the Bench and at the Bar as a Judge till such time as it becomes impossible for him to serve any longer. We have adopted part of the system of the West, and we have not adopted the other part, with the result that a Judge after spending a certain number of years on the Bench cannot take any other employment under the Government after retirement, and it has become more and more difficult to get suitable persons. I can only hope that the matter is under consideration, and efforts will be made to secure terms and conditions which will make it possible for really good, first-rate men to come and dispense justice in the various High Courts and also in the Supreme Court.

You have also pointed out that there is a quick succession on the Bench of the Supreme Court because by the time one is appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court, one has already reached an age which is very near the age of retirement, and necessarily

Judges have much less time here than perhaps in other countries on the Bench. That is also a matter for consideration. It is for you Judges with experience both at the Bar and in the High Courts and the Supreme Court to take up this question with the Government and to advise the Government with your experience on what you think should be done in a matter like this, so that, while on the one hand the interests of justice are secured and the advantage to be derived from the experience of Judges is not lost to the country and to the people, on the other we also secure really good people who would be able to dispense justice without fear or favour.

As I have said, I regard it as a matter of rare privilege to me to be associated with this function to honour a Judge whose integrity, whose independence and whose impartiality were beyond cavil and question, and I have great pleasure in unveiling this portrait which has been presented by the members of the Bar of the Supreme Court.

SELF-RELIANCE & PROSPERITY OF VILLAGES.*

Friends,

I am grateful to you for the opportunity which you have given me of seeing some of the work in this area which is being carried on. Although it has not been possible for me yet to see the work, I am looking forward to seeing the great progress made in all directions in which you have been working. It is a matter of gratification that all over the country projects like this have been established and have been working for some years now and as time passes, naturally the people begin to see what the results have been achieved. I am quite sure that here in your place you will be able to show me something which I will be able to carry with me when I go back to Delhi and which will give me satisfaction and which must be giving you satisfaction too.

You have, in the short address which you have read out, mentioned the old historic association of this part of the country with Buddhism. Well, India is a very ancient land. But our misfortune is that we have not been able to preserve the records of all our past achievements and it is only some time by accident or by mere chance that some excavation somewhere brings

*Reply to the Welcome Address presented by the residents of the Development Centre, Patancheru, near Hyderabad on the 21st July, 1957.

out before us some material which enables us to reconstruct the past.

Anyhow, we are not now at the present moment to be very much concerned with the past as with the present and with the future. The past is there to draw inspiration from and then what is left to us and is available to us today should be quite enough to inspire all our generations.

As regards the future, it is for us, for those who are fortunate enough to live in the present generation, to build it up and make it, if not greater, at least as great as the past we had. The mere fact that in this generation we have been able to win freedom shape our own destiny as we like, is a great achievement but that will remain incomplete so long as we are not able to do something for our people and free them from poverty, disease and ignorance. These are three great enemies we have to fight and I am glad we are taking to this fight with some kind of earnestness and zeal. Let us hope this interest and zeal will grow and not lack later on because after all it is the people who have to build the future of the country and on whom we have to depend and not on the few top men. If everyone of us puts his shoulder to the wheel, there is no doubt that the country will progress. Especially in these blocks where intensive work has been undertaken, it is the people who have to get interested in the work so that even when all the paraphernalia which the Government is supplying, all the aid which the Government has been extending is withdrawn, the work goes on and goes on perhaps with greater speed. Let us hope the people who have to be responsible for the work, carry it on even un-aided. For all this work it is necessary that we should create interest in the people and rouse their enthusiasm so that they may look upon it as their own work and not as something which is being done for them by others, by outside agencies. Until this feeling of identity with the work is developed, it is not possible to continue the work indefinitely and for the progress of the country we have to continue this sort of work indefinitely.

I am glad we have had this opportunity of seeing a centre which is so near the city of Hyderabad and which is for that reason in no way the worse of it because my own feeling is that a village situated nearer a big city becomes less self-dependent and self-reliant and people begin to look to others for everything. But as a matter of fact the city people have to depend upon the village people more than the village people have to on city people. But a psychological thing comes and gets hold of our mind and we become more or less dependent

on others. That tendency is to be fought and you have to develop a sense of self-reliance and interest in the village people for this work which is being done not for the individual but for the community as a whole and therefore they have to do their best. If you are able to do this, you will succeed in the work.

I thank you once again for the opportunity that you have given me and I hope I shall be able to carry with me good memory from this place.

INAUGURATION OF ANDHRA SAHITYA AKADEMY.*

Shri Governor, Mr. Chief Minister, Mr. Education Minister,
Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I must begin with a word of apology for not being able to address you in Telugu. I cannot blame myself for that because we have decided to learn as many languages as possible of this country at an age when I was too old to learn any language. I must also apologise for not addressing you in Hindi because I understand there are many persons in this audience who would not be able to follow my speech in Hindi. I have, therefore, no option but to speak in a foreign language. But I believe and hope that the time will soon come when it will not be necessary for any Indian to use a foreign language in addressing another Indian. That was the dream of Mahatma Gandhi when he started Hindi Prachar in the Southern part of the country and when the time came for drawing up a Constitution for the country, it was realised that we cannot continue to carry on our functions in a foreign language for any length of time. It was therefore that they had adopted Hindi as the language for All India purposes but at the same time it was felt and laid down in the Constitution that the Provincial languages should also be encouraged and should be given all facilities for rising to the full stature in all departments of life and for that reason an Academy was instituted by the Government of India so that it might encourage the various languages that are prevalent in the country to develop and at the same time enable them each to contribute towards the development of other languages by lending support to them.

*Speech made while inaugurating the Andhra Sahitya Akademy on the 7th August, 1957, at Hyderabad.

The object of the academy is not to develop any language in any particular State but to develop all languages and bring them all together to a common platform as far as possible to enable them to exchange the best thought in them. It is for this reason that translation of classics of all languages that are prevalent in the country as well as of foreign languages into Indian languages is encouraged. It is for this reason that it is proposed to award prizes to the best authors, to the best litterateurs of each of these languages so that there may be encouragement amongst them. An all India body was instituted three years ago and such academies have since then been established in some of the States for particular languages prevalent in them.

You have had good reason for not starting an academy earlier because you were waiting for the realisation of a dream which you have cherished of Vishal Andhra and when that dream has been realised, the time has come for starting an academy in your State also and you are taking steps for inaugurating it.

In this connection I might well point out that it has never been the dream of anyone to force Hindi on any part of India. What is wanted is that we should express ourselves to one another in an Indian language, particularly in all India matters whether they be political and administrative matters, whether, they be matters of trade and commerce. In a vast country like India where we have so many languages, the language understood by the largest number of people should be adopted as the national language and it was mere coincidence, mere chance that Hindi happened to be a language which was spoken and understood by the largest number of people in the country and it was for this reason that it was adopted as the official language. There is no other reason excepting the number which induced the framers of the Constitution to adopt Hindi as the language for the country and I know, although there are still people in some parts of the country who still feel that Hindi is being forced on them, I also know from my personal experience that you are not among them. It is not only now but more than 20 years ago when I was touring this part of the country as the President of the Congress that I had to address large numbers of meetings in various places and I remember that in most of the places people who had assembled to hear me would like me to speak in Hindi rather than in English. The reason was also clear. The majority of audience would understand neither Hindi nor English and they had to wait for a translation of my speech. The number which could understand English may be the same which could understand Hindi. So if they had to wait for a

translation, it did not matter whether I spoke in Hindi or in English and Hindi being a national language, they always preferred Hindi. It was then that I first realised your attachment to Hindi which was later on adopted as the national language and your great enthusiasm for making your contribution to national causes. Ever since then I have retained that high opinion about you and I am happy that you have asked me to inaugurate this academy on this occasion.

It is not surprising that in a vast country like India we have so many languages. Those of you who may have toured Europe, may be knowing that there are so many languages there. There also there are languages which are spoken by a very small number of persons—number much less than the number who speak any of the Indian languages. Still they have preserved them. It was the wisdom and far-sightedness of our ancestors that in spite of differences of language, they kept the country one; they devised devices which united us and in spite of all kinds of difficulties, calamities which no other nation could survive, we have survived and are still living together as one country and one nation. Therefore it is incumbent upon us now that we have attained political freedom also, to so behave and carry on our affairs that the independence which we have won may last and last for ever, that every section of the vast community, irrespective of the language they speak, their customs, method of living should have all facilities and opportunity to develop as much as humanly possible and for this reason we have decided that the State languages, Provincial languages should also develop as much as possible.

I was thinking how I could help this unification still further. I have had some experience of a kind which I wish to share with you. Many many years ago there used to be a publication in Calcutta which was run by a gentleman who was a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. His name was Sharada Charan. It was called "Devanagar" which used to publish articles in different languages of India but in Devanagari script and we used to find that we could understand a great deal of several languages through Devanagari script and ever since then I have always felt that it was possible for the Provincial languages to be better understood and more known if we could render them in one script. Fortunately except Tamil, the alphabet of all Indian languages is one and it is not only in India but outside India also, as for example, Ceylon, Burma, Siam, etc., that the alphabet is the same, the script is different but the sound is the same. We have got that advantage. If we could adopt one script which is acceptable to all, to understand differ-

ent languages by people speaking other languages would be very much easier and it would be a great day when we have brought this about.

The publication to which I have referred above used to be published about 40 years ago. But recently, three, four or five years ago when the first general elections were held, when the new members of Parliament met me, I suggested to them to revive the publication of the journal. They accepted my suggestion and they have also started a journal called "Devanagar". But it is in an improved form. What Shri Sharada Charan's "Devanagar" used to do was that it published articles in different languages together but in Devanagari script. But in the present-day "Devanagar" articles in different languages are given with translation also. Sometimes Hindi articles are translated in Tamil, Tamil articles in Telugu, Telugu in Gujrati, Bengali in Marathi and so forth but all are produced in Devanagari script. I am putting this forward before you learned people. If you consider it is possible to adopt a course like this, my own feeling is that we should be able to enrich the various literatures, which is not the case now because of the difficulty of script. Here again Devanagari script is being mentioned because Sanskrit has always been written in Devanagari script and it is already known all over the country. But I am not particular about it. You may adopt any other script which may sound more feasible. I am not very much concerned with any particular language. What I want is that we should adopt one script for the whole country so that, as I have said above, it may become easy for people speaking one language to read another language. I have thrown this suggestion for your consideration. It has no authority behind it. As an individual interested in the unity of the country, I have thrown it. It is not difficult to achieve if we make it our aim. When the alphabet is the same, to learn a language becomes easy.

In regard to the Academy which you have now started, I express my happy and best wishes for its success. I have no doubt that you have undertaken that this Academy will be able to give encouragement to all litterateurs who are now engaged in the Telugu-speaking areas in their own prospect. As I have pointed out, literature is the most lasting thing which we can produce. We have many instances of great structures having been built by our ancestors—structures of bricks and mortars. Some of them last for 100, 200, 500 years but so far as human history goes, literature has lasted as long as the human race, has lasted longer than anything else, because literature of many countries goes back to the days when writing was not known

and what was conceived was communicated by word of mouth and was preserved by people by memory and passed on to generations by word of mouth. Thus is the beginning of our Vedas which are also called Srutis and Smriti also means the same thing because people used to hear and memorise them when there was no such thing as writing and printing and getting these in written form. But today we have got all facilities available to us. With these modern facilities available, literature can last longer than it has lasted so far. There is no knowing how much of the ancient literature has been lost and even that which has been preserved is not so well known always because it has been preserved in a form which makes it difficult to reach people at large. In the country there are thousands and thousands of manuscripts but they are not known because they have not been published and made available to the people. The fact that some of them have been preserved till this day shows the lasting character of literature. It is therefore that we want valuable literature to be preserved. It is not every kind of writing that should be preserved. If we start preserving everything that has been written, then life would become intolerable because so much would be there to preserve. The best things should be preserved and that should be preserved which is worth preserving and if we do that, many many generations to come would be proud of them.

I hope the Akademy will devote itself to the creation of things which will be liked not only by the people of Andhra but by the people at large and we have no doubt you have got such men who can do it. I am quite sure that your Governor and Government and Ministers will always give such assistance as you require to make this Akademy a success. I wish it all success.

PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF TUBERCULOSIS.*

Mr. Governor, Mr. Chief Minister, Dr. Menon and friends,—

It gives me great pleasure indeed to be associated with the opening of this T.B. Hospital, with laying the foundation-stone of which I was also privileged to associate myself. T.B. is a

*Speech on the occasion of opening of New Building for the T.B. Hospital at Pulayanarkottah on Monday, 12th August, 1957.

disease which is very prevalent in this country and even your beautiful State has not escaped this scourge of humanity. When I look at the villages spread over the whole country I find one great difference between the villages as they are in northern India and as they are in this part of the country, and that is that while in the North we have got houses huddled together in big groups in a small space in the village, here so far as I have been able to notice during my tours in the interior, I find that each house is more or less a separate entity by itself with a small yard if not a compound attached to it. That ought to be some kind of protection against the spread of T.B. which is essentially a disease which prevails in conditions where fresh and pure air is scarce.

Considered from this point of view India is a country which should be least affected by T.B. because most of our time is spent in the open. Even those who live in the colder parts live within rooms only for about 25 per cent. of the time they spend in a year. The rest of their time is spent either in the verandahs or under trees or in fields and except for those who have to work in modern factories, the rest of the country may be divided into classes who spend most of their time either in their verandahs or under trees or in the open. So it is really a matter for investigation as to why India should at all be subject to T.B. on such a large scale. I am not an expert, so I cannot presume to judge a matter like this, but it seems to me that either our social habits or mode of living or even more than that malnutrition must be at the root of the spread of this disease and unless and until we succeed in removing these basic causes, we may not succeed entirely in eliminating T.B. from this country. Of course modern science has made great strides and they have succeeded in eliminating it practically in some countries where living conditions are very much worse than in ours so far as fresh air is concerned. In cold countries people have necessarily to remain indoors most of the time and their houses are also so constructed as to keep out draught from the rooms so far as is humanly and physically possible to do so; but in spite of that drawback they have succeeded in some of the western countries in eliminating T.B. altogether. We should therefore be thankful that we have got certain advantages which we could make use of for getting rid of this scourge of humanity.

I am glad to learn that in this State you have taken up the question of controlling T.B. on a handsome scale. We have just listened to an account of what is being done in this State and I am quite sure I am speaking on behalf of the entire audience and of a very much larger number of people when I

congratulate the Government on the steps which they have taken. I congratulate also the Health Minister and all those who have helped him in selecting this spot for a T.B. hospital because, as far as I can judge it, it seems to be an ideal spot for a T.B. hospital; and I am quite sure that the medical care and attention that the patients will get here, the climate itself and the location of the hospital, all these will go considerably in curing them of their disease.

May I also mention one thing? You are engaged in extensive work in connection with the elimination of T.B. You have established hospitals; you are going to establish more. You have established some clinics; you are going to establish still more. May I also suggest that in these efforts of yours to eliminate T.B., you might also utilise even though it be on a smaller scale to begin with, the Indian Ayurvedic system, which, I am told has got remedies which may prove successful? It is a belief in many parts of the country that the ancient system is still very much prevalent in this part of the country and that there are physicians who are well versed as practical physicians in Ayurveda. You could perhaps start some clinics here and there, if for nothing else, to see how far under best conditions that can be provided, the system can be used for eliminating T.B. My own idea is that the ayurvedic system in the long run becomes very much cheaper than the allopathic system and if you could incur some little expenditure on that even by way of experimentation, I am quite sure it will not be wasted and you will probably get results which might be helpful not only to you but to other parts of the country.

When we think of the disease, there is no doubt that the only two methods of attacking it are to prevent it through preventive measures and to cure it by remedies which are recognised by those who are in a position to judge. The best preventive method, of course, is general improvement in the habits of our people and general improvement in their food. Next are the other medical methods which you are following. I am quite sure that your attention will be given to the best method, and with our welfare State where attempt is being made to improve living conditions for the people and to raise their standard of living, you will have your own share of credit if you help your own people in providing a higher standard of living which will also help to eliminate T.B. There can be no difference of opinion about this preventive method whatever differences there may be with regard to any other method that may be adopted, and so far as cure is concerned, of course people are now in a position to say that in many cases they can

successfully treat a case if it is brought to their notice sufficiently early and I am quite sure you will take advantage of the latest method of treatment and do what you can to help the unfortunate sufferers from this fell disease.

I wish to congratulate the Government and to congratulate the people on the kind of hospital which they have built up here and on the steps proposed to be taken in the future to control this disease. I declare this hospital open.

HONOURING A PATRIOT.*

Mr. Governor, Mr. Chief Minister, Members of the Memorial Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

It is a good thing to remember the past services of those who spent their lives for the sake of the country and who are no more with us. There may be some amidst us here who knew the Desabhimani in his life time but I believe the majority of the audience here is acquainted only with his name and his good work, not personally with him. I am certainly one of those who have heard about him but who did not have the privilege of knowing him, but that is not a loss to him but a loss to those who were not born in time or who were for other reasons not in a position to come to know a man of his stature and sacrifice.

Now that we have attained independence, we have to recall to our minds the services of those who had spent their lives at a time when independence was not in sight, when as a matter of fact nobody could foresee what the end of the great struggle in which they were all engaged was going to be, and the credit is all the more due to them for having fought for a cause which for the time being did not seem to be succeeding. Everyone who undertook public work of the kind the Desabhimani undertook was sure of only one thing, and that was the wrath of the powers-that-be. He could not be sure of getting anything substantial for himself or for the country in any other way, and that expectation, as has just been referred to, has been fulfilled in no time. He had expressed that the only thing that would be left to the Government in those days would be to clap people into prison and that prophesy was fulfilled within a few weeks of writing and he was himself a victim of the wrath of the government then.

*Speech made while unveiling the Bust of Swadesabhimani Ramakrishna Pillai on Tuesday, the 13th August, 1957, at Trivandrum.

We have had innumerable instances in this country's long struggle for regaining liberty and fortunately those of us who are alive today and those who will be born hereafter will be doing a great service by remembering the services of those, from which we now derive all the benefit and from which they saw only the suffering part of it. I have therefore great pleasure in unveiling this memorial and I gladly consented to do this duty. It is no longer a melancholy duty but a pleasant duty to recall the services of a great editor, a great journalist and a great patriot of this country.

With these words I unveil the statue of Swadesabhimani Ramakrishna Pillai.

OPENING OF THE HALL OF LIBERTY.*

Shri Governor, Mr. Chief Minister, Mr. Mayor, Members of the Corporation, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I am indeed grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of participating in this function of laying the foundation-stone of a memorial hall in commemoration of our struggle for freedom. Our struggle for freedom has a long history. If I may say so, we never accepted foreign rule at any stage. It was a fact that on occasions we had to lie low, we had to accept defeat and bide our time waiting for a better opportunity but I do not believe there was any time when we accepted foreign rule as a settled thing. In this context the Struggle for Freedom was waged in different parts of the country according to the circumstances prevailing in those areas and also according to the circumstances governing the country as a whole and while these local revolts continued, it was the accumulated grievances of the people of different parts of the country that culminated in the revolt of 1857. Whether we call it by the name of rebellion or by the name of mutiny, the fact is that it was the first organised effort made by the people to attain freedom and it is well that in different parts of the country there should be memorials to commemorate the services and sacrifices of those who did their best to attain freedom.

We have a history which is unique in many respects and being the first to come directly under foreign rule and also being the first to revolt against it, if I may say so, your State is holding a very high place in the country. It is true that compared to

*Speech made at the time of laying the foundation-stone of the Hall of Liberty in Trivandrum on the 14th August, 1957.

many other States, this State may be the smallest in size and population but it is not the physical size and the number of people living in a country that really make a country great. It is the determination and sacrifices of individuals from a particular area that make a region great, that make a country great and, as I have said, in all these respects you have a record of which not only you but the whole country should be proud. I am very happy to be associated with and to participate in this sacred function of laying the foundation-stone of this Memorial Hall which will give great inspiration and which will recall to the mind of the coming generations in picture, in statues and, I believe, even in sculpture all the greatness of the past and aspiration of the future.

I do not desire to take any more of your time. I only wish that this effort of yours will be crowned with success.

PLEA FOR STANDARDISATION OF AYURVEDIC MEDICINES.*

Shri Governor, Shri Chief Minister, Minister for the Medical Department, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

Ayurvedic system is a system which has been in existence in this country since time immemorial and there was a time when it used to be practically the only system that was prevalent in this country and that was known to anyone. At that time it was not behind any other country's system of medical treatment. It was able to keep itself abreast, if not ahead, of all other systems and it was not at all surprising that it should be so because Ayurveda, as the very name implies, is really the science of life and not only of ill health.

In modern times we lay too much emphasis on ill health and too little on good health probably because good health is assumed as the matter of course and ill health is the only thing which we have before our eyes from day to day. But if we take care of our health as a part of integrated life and so fashion our daily routine, our food, amusement, our sleep and rest, it will not be necessary for anyone to seek the help of a medical man and when I hear our Ministers complaining that in the country we have too few hospitals, too few beds and too few doctors and nurses, I wonder whether the aim is to fill the country with men of ill health so that we may provide doctors for

*Speech made while inaugurating the Ayurvedic Research Institute at Trivandrum on the 14th August, 1957.

everyone.. The object on the other hand ought to be to have a country where illness will be an exception and where doctors will be required only occasionally, once in a way as a sort of exceptional requirement.

My own idea about Ayurveda, which I must confess is not based on any study of it, is this that it looks upon human life as one integrated thing and tries to so fashion it from the time of the conception, from the time when the child is in its mother's womb, right upto the time when this body remains no longer a live body and has to be consigned to the flames. It is because it aims at a study of the whole life and it aims at keeping it in good condition—physically as well as morally and spiritually and because it lays emphasis on these three aspects of human life, it claims rightly to have the title of the science of life. Unfortunately for some centuries now it has fallen on evil days and it has been subjected, I must say rather cruelly, to treatment which it did not deserve.

It is indeed said that Ayurveda is not keeping abreast with the scientific improvement and knowledge. It must be confessed that the charge is not altogether unfounded. It must also be said that that is because it does not get the encouragement and patronage which alone make research and treatment possible. I must say that there are two classes of people and both have their duty to perform. Science does not consist in rejecting anything without knowing it, without studying it. On the other hand science does not also consist in accepting everything and anything simply because it has been said by someone or other. There should be really a combination of the two. Whereas all our modern physicians should acquire knowledge of modern science, they should look upon Ayurveda also with a certain amount of sympathy and, if I may say so, also with respect. They should not reject it because they do not know it. Your ignorance can never be good or any excuse for rejecting it. You have to understand it, study it and to find out what there is in it which may be of use and which has enabled it in spite of all discouragement and difficulties for centuries and which enables it even today to cater to the requirements and needs of millions and millions of the people of this country.

On the other hand those who are devoted to Ayurveda should also feel the absolute necessity of moving with the times. In fact they should realise that it is impossible to make any progress unless they make themselves acquainted with the latest discovery of science and for that purpose they have to understand modern system and see where they can adapt themselves to the modern system or adapt modern system to their

own. It is only when two-fold efforts are made that we can really hope to have better research and re-vitalisation of Ayurveda in the country.

I am glad to know that here in Kerala you are proceeding on that line. I have noticed that in this State you have got a number of hospitals with beds attached to them where the treatment is on the Ayurvedic line and besides these hospitals you have also got a large number of hospitals where Allopathic medicines are distributed. In fact no medical treatment can be tested unless it is tested in the hospital where there are people suffering from various diseases who have to be treated and cured according to the system which is the best. It is, therefore, good that in this State you have quite large numbers of hospitals where treatment is given on Ayurvedic line. And you are adding to your credit by establishing a Research Institute which will enable Vaidyas to study other systems, to study their own medicines, to study the effect of their own medicines on patients in modern conditions and environments and where they will also carry on research in regard to new and old drugs on modern lines.

I have felt that one of the greatest difficulties in propagation of the Ayurvedic medicines is the fact that you cannot be sure of getting medicine of the right type. I have found that Vaidyas with great reputation refuse to prescribe medicines prepared by other Vaidyas of the same reputation and prescribe only the medicines which have been prepared by them. It means that a Vaidya, if he has to be of any service, has to be not only a good physician but also to be a good phytologist and so all Vaidyas are. It is so because they all proceed with the assumption, which may be correct or which may not be correct, that the medicine prepared by them is genuine and of the right type and correctly prepared. Some medicines are good but some are not of the right type or of the right standard. If your Research Laboratory can help in standardizing preparation of Ayurvedic medicines, it will have served a good purpose. By the word 'standardize' I do not mean that in Ayurveda standardized medicines are not there. They are there. Prescriptions are given, methods of preparation are given, everything is given there. What I mean is that these methods are followed and right type of drugs are mixed. If standardized medicines could be made available, I have no doubt that Ayurveda will make great strides in this country and I am hoping that these results your Laboratory will be able to achieve.

May I add one thing? As you have already shown the way in having a large number of hospitals run on Ayurvedic line for

Ayurvedic treatment, will you not also serve as an ideal for other States of the country by concentrating on research which will really be helpful and useful? I wish you to do things which will, if they cannot convert those who are against Ayurveda, at any rate induce them to study it so that they may know that Ayurveda is not useless as they think. Under the modern system if some new drug is discovered and some preparation is made in some country thousands and thousands of miles away, doctors of other countries in very different climatic conditions where the environment is quite different, readily accept it and doctors in this country do not hesitate to prescribe it. But they are not prepared to accept medicines prepared by Vaidyas of experience, which is the accumulated experience of centuries and prepared after experiments conducted more or less in the same conditions. That is because they do not have faith in our system and it is for you to create that faith and I am quite sure once you create that faith, there is no doubt they will accept it, they will accept it as a matter of science because everything that comes out of a scientific approach becomes unquestioned and unquestionable.

I do not think you presume that any experiment that you make will be considered as authoritative as experiments by other systems. That is an object you have to work for and I am quite sure that it is not beyond our research to achieve it.

You are fortunate in getting Government support for this Hospital, College, Research Institute and everything that you are going to do in this respect and I am quite sure you will get more and more help when you require it. I am therefore very happy to be associated with this morning's function and declare this Institute open.

THE IDEAL OF UNITY AND UNDERSTANDING DESPITE DIFFERENCES.*

I am addressing you today on the eve of the Independence Day. For some years past we have been observing two National Days in the year—the 26th of January we observe as the Republic Day because it was on that day that our Constitution came into operation and the country became a Republic; the 15th of August we observe as Independence Day because it was on this day when the power of governing the country was

*Speech made at the Public Meeting and the opening of Martyr's Column in Trivandrum on August 14, 1957.

transferred from British to Indian hands. For the last four years I have decided that one of these days should be observed in the capital of the country, Delhi, and the other should be observed somewhere in these parts. I am happy that this year we are observing this day here in the capital city of your State.

This year's celebration has a significance of its own. It is not only a centenary celebration of a great revolt which convulsed the country in 1857 against the British, but it is also the tenth anniversary of the attainment of independence which was the culmination of the struggle which had gone on for more than a century against British rule; and here in Trivandrum you have added to the significance of the celebrations by arranging the presentation of a sword with which the great patriot Velu Thampi Dalawa fought against foreigners, and you have also asked me to unveil the memorial column to commemorate the sacrifices of those who served India in the country's cause. It is on account of these functions which have been added to the ordinary function which we have every year that today's celebration assumes particular significance and importance. I regard it as a great honour to be presented with the sword which once fought for India's freedom and I am thankful to the family of Shri K. R. Ravi Varma which had preserved it for nearly 150 years in their possession and kept it safe against all those who wished to appropriate it. I can assure him and I can assure you that it will be kept safe and secure as a memento of the great struggle in which the country had been engaged for more than a hundred years for attaining independence.

It is usual on an occasion like this to recall the great services and sacrifices of those who have fought for the freedom of the country and I cannot do better than ask you to join me in paying homage and respect and reverence to all those who have lived, suffered and died for the country's cause. The memorial column which you have erected will serve in times to come as a great memento and as a great reminder to generations yet unborn of the heroic deeds and the great sacrifices undertaken and of the great services rendered by all those who had preceded them.

This is not my first visit to your city or to this beautiful State. I have been here on several occasions and on every occasion that I have come, I have seen something new and fresh to attract me more and more towards it. India, as you know, is a conglomeration of various kinds of culture, of language, of religion, of mode of living, and it has, running through all

these apparent diversities, a unity which supersedes all and which has continued in spite of political disunity, in spite of all kinds of difficulties which have been showered upon us by nature and by man. It is not surprising that we have such diversities in a big country like India. If you only remember that our population as it is today is almost equal to the population of the whole of Europe minus Russia, you can understand the significance of this diversity as well as of this unity. In Europe there are so many countries which are divided from one another and which have continued not only divided but to be at war with one another for centuries. In India, on the other hand, we have not had a 100-year war or a 30-year war or even a 7-year war! We fought between ourselves occasionally but these never proved to be as devastating as the wars of Europe: and in spite of political division, the cultural life of the people continued uninterrupted and without any kind of interference.

This great unity has been possible because our people have from time immemorial accepted the principle of live and let live, of mutual respect and tolerance, of what may be called co-existence in modern language. We have been able to survive all these centuries and today when we have added to this cultural unity also political unity of the country as a whole, there is no reason why our country should not rise to the greatest heights in national prosperity and in service to humanity. We want our own prosperity, but not at the expense of the prosperity of others: we want our own rise but we do not want anyone to be done away with before we want to rise; we want to progress, but not by aggression; we want to be free and we want at the same time to ensure freedom to everyone else. That is the meaning of the principle of *ahimsa* on which our whole life and culture have been based and which have been the greatest contribution, if I may say so, to political thought, to religious thought, to moral thought of the world that any nation has made.

Today when we have various kinds of differences arising and when we sometimes miss the great fundamental unity and attach importance to the apparent diversity, it is well to remember that after all fundamental unity will last because in our very nature this non-violence is ingrained because our whole life, tradition and culture is based on that. From the time when differences of opinion were tabooed in other countries, we have tolerated differences of opinion and today when we have got a Constitution which allows freedom of speech, of expression, of thought and of religion to everybody, there is

no reason why we should not have a people holding different opinions and subscribing to different ideologies, working together in co-operation with one another to the benefit of all. Our Constitution not only envisages this but it also provides for it and that is why we have secured unity of the country by insisting upon federation; we have also ensured autonomy of the States, and the fact that one party is ruling at the Centre and another in the State has not made any difference to our relationship with one another and ought not to make any difference.

I hope I am correct when I say that you here need not feel that there is any such difference because of a new party ruling in the sphere of the State and another in the sphere of the whole country. You need not feel anything like that. I am hoping that this great experiment is going to serve as a great lesson not only to the other States of our own country but to the other countries as well. This example of co-existence, of living together in spite of differences, of working together despite difficulties, will be helpful to other countries as well. After all, what does the world aim at today? You talk of one world, some kind of international organisation which will govern the relationship of different countries in such a way as to avoid war and trouble. Have we not got on a small scale an example in actual working of that kind of thing in a country like India where with so many languages, so many religions, so many differences in the mode of living, we have been able to live together? I am only hoping that the day will come—and not in the very distant future but soon, that may not be in my life time but certainly in the life time of the greater portion of the audience present here—when the world will say, “We are copying India because in the world as a whole we have got different languages, different religions, different races inhabiting different parts of it and yet all living together and all working together for the good of all. That is an ideal worth living for.”

But it is necessary that we put our own house in order before aspiring to set such an example to the world. Despite our differences we must stand united and develop mutual understanding and tolerance. Then alone we can ask other countries to be like us and to be a one-world.

That is the great future for which we are called upon to work and thus we will be true to ourselves and to the great ideal of *ahimsa*. We shall attain it, I have no doubt in my mind, and I wish you, people of Kerala, to make your contribution to the attainment of that great ideal. You can do it, you

have made your own contribution for the making of this country in the past. You are doing that today and I have no doubt you will be ever ready to make your contribution to the creation of one-world which we are all looking forward to and in which there will be no restraint, in which the atomic energy will not be used for the purpose of destroying one another but will be used for improving the life and culture of the people in all countries and at all times. That is a great ideal and I am sure you all in the country as a whole will make your own humble contribution which will be accepted by others

With these words I desire to unveil this memorial column and I once more thank everyone for the great privilege which has been given to me. I again give the assurance that this sword will be preserved for all time to come.

HUNDRED YEARS IN RETROSPECT. 1857—1957.*

It is just one hundred years from today that as a result of the countrywide discontent against the rule of the British East India Company, India witnessed a great uprising. By whatever name one may be inclined to designate it, the movement of 1857-59 was not purely accidental. The people of India had never accepted the rule of the East India Company with alacrity.

The East India Company had established its rule gradually, almost imperceptibly, as a result of internecine dissensions. It was not long before the populace began to realise its evil consequences, with the result that while in one part of the country the Company was extending its possessions there were risings in other parts against its rule. It would indeed be hard to say if there was any span of time between 1757 and 1857 when in one part of the country or another Indians did not rise against the Company or demonstrate their resistance to its rule in a practical way. There were reasons for it.

The East India Company and its officials had monopolised all trade, depriving local traders of all business facilities or reducing them to the status of the agents of the Britishers. The Company had deprived many of their ancestral lands by enacting various laws in different parts of the country, one of which was the authority to auction the entire land in case of default

*Message broadcast to the Nation on the occasion of the anniversary of the 1857 Freedom Movement.

of payment of land revenue. An altogether new set of laws and the new expensive and time-wasting law courts from which justice was difficult to get, ruined a large number of people. The new taxes imposed by the Company were realised with relentless harshness. The Christian missionaries had caused distress among the people by their proselytizing propaganda. New laws and practices like the ban on the *sati* customs, retention of rights to ancestral and other property even after conversion to another religion, the introduction of new type of cartridges which it was thought contained animal fat and which the Sepoys were forced to bite with their teeth—all these led to the widespread impression that behind these happenings was the intention to convert the whole country to Christianity.

Again, the East India Company's policy of annexation which led to the extinction of several Indian States and their merger with the Company's territory, their policy of grabbing whatever they could lay their hands upon and lastly the destruction of the cottage and small-scale industries which affected the rich and the poor alike—on account of all these a situation developed which caused widespread discontent throughout the country and many people resolved in their hearts to bring the rule of the Company to an end, even if some of these did so to protect their own interests. On the other hand, the East India Company was getting more and more powerful and it was becoming clear that it would not be possible to challenge its might without a collective and organised effort.

The latter half of the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th century saw movements in different parts of the country to overthrow or at least arrest the growing power of the Company. It is a historical fact that the Movement of 1857 was the most determined and widespread of the risings which had taken place till then against the East India Company. There is little wonder therefore if writers and historians have described this movement as a national war of independence.

The rising which began in Meerut and which later on engulfed the whole of the present Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and parts of Madhya Pradesh and the Punjab need not be elaborated here, but it has to be admitted that behind these happenings was the feeling of discontent caused by the Company's misdeeds and that many of those who took active part in this movement were moved by patriotic motives. Besides, the injury caused to the people's religious susceptibilities also provoked many to join and reinforce the movement.

The revolt of 1857-59, besides bringing in bold relief the incontrovertible fact of resistance against foreign domination, also threw up quite a few personalities which have since come to be regarded as symbols of heroism and opposition to alien rule. Tantya Tope, Ahmed Ullah, Kunwar Singh and Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi may be mentioned among them. Another significant fact which emerges from the happenings of 1857-59 is the remarkable sense of unity among Hindus and Muslims and the complete absence of communal feeling throughout the movement. Soon after the outbreak of fighting, the rebels or resisters were moved by the feeling that they had a common end to achieve and a common cause to serve. Even in the midst of the tangled history of the uprising, the community of interests among Indians is clearly discernible. It is a fact which cannot be lost sight of.

When we view those happenings today dispassionately and objectively, it is possible that some of those causes which led to popular discontent are not looked upon as altogether bad or objectionable. It is not however the question as to what we think of those things today after the lapse of 100 years. The thing to be taken into account is that those incidents and innovations had a very unfavourable reaction on the minds of the people at that time and they thought that the Company's moves were calculated not only to deprive Indians of their wealth, property, religious beliefs and freedom, but to make a short shrift of them. We must also learn that unlimited self-sacrifice is essential for attaining independence and retaining it.

On this day when we are celebrating the anniversary of the movement of 1857 I send my greetings to all my countrymen and pray that we may ever continue to enjoy our hard-won freedom to achieve which the nationwide effort was made hundred years ago.

KERALA ASSURED OF CENTRE'S HELP.*

It has pleased me immensely to witness this Parade and to see the smart turnout of the participating troops and the contingents of local Police, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. To all of them I offer my appreciation and congratulations.

We are celebrating today the 10th anniversary of our Independence and on this occasion I extend my hearty greetings

*Speech made on the occasion of the Independence Day Parade at Trivandrum, on August 15, 1957.

and best wishes to all the people of this State for a happy and prosperous future.

It has been a great pleasure for me to be among you on this occasion. I have been deeply touched by the reception accorded to me by the people of Kerala and the affection showered on me by them during these few days that I have been in this State. Wherever I have gone, whether in the city of Trivandrum or in the interior, large crowds of people, men, women and children, have come out to greet me. For this demonstration of love I would like to thank them. Yet I know too well that all this honour that you have done me is not so much meant for an individual as for the President of India, an office which I happen to hold at present. For that reason this popular enthusiasm and demonstration become all the more significant and valuable.

Your State, not unlike several other States in the Indian Union, is no doubt faced with a great many problems which must be tackled as expeditiously as possible in the interest of the people. Whatever I have seen and learnt during the past few days of my stay here has convinced me that you can look forward to the future with hope. I feel happy to say that your Government is grappling with them with enthusiasm and in a spirit of service.

In point of area and size Kerala is the smallest State in the country, but not so in respect of resources—human and material. Nature has conferred on your State its choicest blessings, which, besides making it materially rich, have also made it a place of beauty and uncommon fascination. As for your human resources, the people of Kerala are known throughout the country, I should say even overseas, for their intelligence and hardiness. Though you are beset with difficult problems, that of overpopulation being the foremost among them, I am sure with the help of your own resourcefulness and the ever-available guidance and aid of the Government of India, you will be able to solve them in course of time. On this occasion let me assure you on behalf of the Union Government that in your efforts to solve your problems your State could count on the Centre's sympathy and helpful consideration.

Once again I greet you, men and women of Kerala and wish you godspeed and pray that the new year which begins from today may bring you greater happiness and prosperity!
Jai Hind.

MEDALLION AS A MEMORIAL.*

I am thankful to the 1857 Centenary Celebrations Committee, Poona, for their presenting this gold medallion to me. Celebrations in connection with the centenary of the freedom movement have been held in various parts of the country in recent months. The proposal of your committee in this connection is original and I hope that the medallion which you have prepared for distribution among the public will prove popular. A memorial, whether it is in the shape of a metallic medallion or in the form of a monument in brick and mortar, is meant primarily to keep alive the memory of the event or events in question in the hearts of the people so that there is awakening among them and they feel enthused.

It is clear from the various functions held in connection with centenary of the 1857 movement in nearly all the parts of India that this programme has proved popular. It also shows that the basis of that movement was to a large extent popular support. The medallion which your committee has prepared is a solid memorial of those memorable happenings. I hope the people at large will draw inspiration from it and learn to feel proud of the leaders of that movement. I congratulate your committee and offer my best wishes to all its members and also to the artists with whose co-operation this medallion has been designed and struck.

*Speech made on the occasion of presentation of the Commemorative Medallion prepared by 1857 Centenary Celebrations Committee, Poona, September 27, 1957.

ON EDUCATION AND THE PROBLEM OF IMPROVING HUMAN MATERIAL.*

I thank you for the opportunity you have afforded to me of meeting you this morning and of saying a few words. Poona, as has justly been remarked, has a great place in the history of our country. Even today, although the University may be a young university, it ranks high as a place of great learning, of great research, and what is even more important, of great men. We are now engaged in building up an India of which future generations will be proud, and naturally we have got in hand large plans of construction in all spheres of activity. Equally

*Address to the Court of the Poona University on Saturday, the 29th September, 1957.

naturally there is a demand for engineers and architects and for men who will be able to help in the construction of that India. We see almost every day that in some part of the country or other institutions are growing and coming up for the purpose of instructing and preparing engineers and architects. Our universities are naturally looked upon as places from which inspiration should flow to all these architects and engineers.

Within recent years there has been a very great expansion in matters of education in the whole country. That expansion has been, I am afraid, horizontal. There has not been equal expansion vertically so that what was gained in the extent we have not gained in the depths and I flatter myself that as a young man when I studied in the university and in college, I knew perhaps a little more than a man of my age does today in a college or university; and I venture to think that that must be the experience of all those who can count some years to their credit. I therefore feel that in this expansion we should pay attention also to the depth, and while attending to that side of educational curricula, we have also to remember that universities have to adjust themselves to the needs of the India of today and the India of the future. We were in those days content with a modicum of knowledge of history or philosophy, of mathematics and perhaps also of elementary science. There were very few engineering institutions and very few institutions, if any, of a technical nature. The demands of today are for these latter class of institutions more than for institutions which will give us a knowledge of history or philosophy or even of literature. These have not to be neglected, but at the same time we have to so adjust our curricula as to be more in consonance with our present requirements. That is necessary for the implementation of the big schemes and big plans which the country has undertaken after the attainment of independence.

But even in the big plans which we have partly carried out and which we hope to be able, to carry out in the next few years, I feel there is one great drawback. We are preparing and trying to prepare engineers who will build big dams and big buildings and big laboratories. I do not know however if we are paying any attention to the creation of engineers who will build human beings. I have a feeling that there has been a certain amount of deterioration in that respect also and what we need specially in a free and independent India, an India which wants to build itself up for the future, is a number of engineers who will be able to produce men of character and integrity and men who can be depended upon for anything that was entrusted to them. If you fail anywhere, I sometimes

wonder if the failure is not due entirely to human material. We read almost every day of some accident or other either in railway or aeroplane or of some other kind. In most cases I should think the failure is not of the machine but the failure of man, and it is a question of great importance for the national well-being that we should remove the causes which lead to that failure. Even failure of the machine is ultimately due to the failure of man because, after all, the machine is the creation of man, and even if we do not create the machine and import, we have to run the machine and any failure in the running of the machine is the failure of the Indian worker who handles it.

It is therefore necessary that our universities should pay more and more attention to the building up of the character of those who come under their universities. Time there was when students used to live in the ashrams of the teachers who were also *rishis* and *tapasvis* of those days. Perhaps it is not possible to reproduce those conditions today and we have to build in a very much bigger way. Even in olden times we had big places where thousands and thousands of young men congregated for learning in universities like Nalanda where ten or twelve thousand students were housed in one house, universities like Taxila and so many others of those days used to accommodate thousands and thousands of students and yet I believe they attended to the building up of the character of the students more than they attended to their mental improvement and equipment. Today we find that that is an aspect of education which it is considered unnecessary to attend to. There is hardly any attempt made to regulate the life of the student so as to make him imbibe those fundamental principles of life which are really the things that matter.

I do not suggest regimentation. Far from it, I suggest that any regimentation which may be necessary should come from within and not from without. It should grow out of the spiritual and moral nature of the young man himself and not something that has to be imposed from without. If education really means bringing something out of the individual who comes for education, then these qualities which are inherent in all men and women should be brought out and they should be brought out by the teachers who teach in schools and universities. It is there that regimentation should come from within and not from without. We hear of strikes in schools and colleges, we hear of parties being formed among students, sometimes with the aid of professors also, of parties being formed amongst teachers to which even students are drawn and for the purpose of which they are utilised.

This is not the kind of regimentation that will help the country. Certainly it will not help the students who come under it. It certainly does not help the teachers. The real lack is that kind of education which would make the students feel what his duties are, what he has to do, and the limitations to which he has to submit out of his own free will; and our universities should so frame their curricula, should so organize the students within themselves, and what is even more important than the organization of students, so organize the life of those young men and women who come under their influence as to make them really good and honourable men and women of integrity and honour.

While your university is young, it has a great advantage. It may not be true of other universities and what they regarded as a weak point, may really become converted into a strong point in favour of a young university. I would wish and I would suggest most respectfully to the Chancellor, to the Vice-Chancellor and to the Members and to all those who are in charge of this University that traditions be created which will be healthy and which will really turn out men and women of character and who will be able to help India. We have to remember that India has a message for the world. Today there are many things which we have to take from other countries, but there are certain things which we have to give to other countries. But before we can give, we must know what we have to give so that we may ourselves be in a position to appreciate those things; and it is for this purpose, with that high aim and objective, that we have to train the youth of the country so that they may carry the message of India to the world.

We have had a glorious past, but that will be of no value unless you can convert it into a living present and what is even more important, you can make it possible for the future to become even more glorious and I can only hope that universities will realise their responsibilities in respect of character-building of all those who come under their influence. You have fortunately here in Poona men and women who could be followed as ideals, men and women whom the university can see in flesh and blood, men and women who can really come in contact with them and feel elevated in their own lives, and I wish you give them the opportunity of not only imbibing knowledge but also something of the spirit which has made great men and women of India and of Poona. I need hardly say anything more. My wish will be fulfilled if the tradition of producing men of great mental calibre and also having at the same time

high spiritual values is maintained. If you can produce these, you will fulfil the purpose which the country holds dear.

I thank you once again for this opportunity of meeting you

A.I.R.'S ROLE IN POPULARISING MUSIC.*

I am glad to be associated once again with the concluding function of the Radio Sangeet Sammelan sponsored by All India Radio. Year after year I have been asked to give away prizes to winners of the various competitions held in connection with the Sangeet Sammelan, and I need hardly say that I greatly value this opportunity.

We have been witnessing a cultural renaissance in India for many years past. The forces and historical processes responsible for bringing it about were many, one of which was the impact of western influence. Howsoever strange it may look, the fact is that western countries on getting into touch with India displayed an interest in our literature and cultural heritage which revived our own dormant interest in them. Though western influence did not do anything direct to promote Indian music and allied fine arts, the westerners' emphasis on these arts in their own life served indirectly to remind us of the achievements of our forbears in this field.

This process which began in the early years of this century received a great impetus when India became free ten years ago. The part which All India Radio has played and is playing in popularising indigenous music and interesting the common people in its various forms has indeed been notable. When I say this I am not overlooking the difficulties which it has had to face and with some of which perhaps it is still grappling. As a result of past neglect, our traditional music had become the close preserve of a restricted section of the community. For a large section of our population it had lost its appeal and its capacity to inspire. This happened in spite of the fact that from time immemorial our mode of worship, the basic facts of religion and in fact the whole concept of our cultural life have derived strength and sustenance from music. I do not think there are many countries which have assigned in the day-to-day life of their people such a high place to music as our country. Therefore, I

*Speech made while inaugurating the Radio Sangeet-Sammelan, October 20, 1957.

think that by trying to rescue it from neglect to which times had somehow relegated it, All India Radio has rendered a great national service.

I would not like to say much about the importance of music in a country's life. It is one of those sources of joy which know no linguistic bounds, no geographical limits and no national barriers. It is essentially a universal medium of expressing human emotions. In addition, it has the capacity to uplift the human soul and bring about an atmosphere of true harmony and unity among diverse elements. Whether we take to music as a unifying factor in a congregation or as a means of elevating the human spirit and bringing it closer to Brahma or the Universal Self, its value in every case is as great as its effect is **unfailing**. If we think about the matter earnestly, we cannot fail to appreciate the great power attributed to music in India's ancient thought.

I am very glad that under the auspices of All India Radio a well-organised effort is being made not only to bring within easy reach popular forms of Indian music but also in some way to improve and educate popular tastes. While doing so, A.I.R. has not lost sight of the recreational aspect of music and, I am told, special arrangements are in existence to compose and broadcast light music. While pursuing a policy of preserving and promoting the classical music of India, you have set up a separate unit for producing and popularising light music and India's folk-lore.

This annual competition is an effective means for the achievement of the object A.I.R. has in view. Recognition of art and talent through competition creates a spirit of healthy rivalry and encourages talent. It is indeed gratifying to know that the number of competitors in respect of both Hindustani and Karnataka music as well as vocal and instrumental music has been steadily going up year after year.

I offer my congratulations and best wishes to all those who have won distinctions and prizes in this year's competition.

RECONCILING HUMAN INGENUITY WITH SECURITY.*

The 12th Anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations comes this year at a time when its activities and its

*Speech made on the occasion of the United Nations Day, October 23, 1957.

scope are a subject of world-wide discussion. The importance of the anniversary of this organisation demands that on this day we detach ourselves from all pre-conceived notions and make an objective appraisal of its achievements or failings. During the year under review all the member nations, whatever their attitude towards specific issues in the U.N., have paid unstinted homage to this world organisation by participating more actively in the discussion of all questions of international concern. I know progress has not always been as swift as one might have wished, but in matters of such great importance when seemingly opposite views have to be reconciled, negotiations in an atmosphere of peace and goodwill become at times more important than speed.

With the advance of science the whole perspective of human affairs and international relationship is undergoing a change in surprising, if not startling, manner. Human ingenuity in our age seems to be at its best in harnessing the forces of nature and exploring the mysteries of the universe through science and technology. One can only hope that all the inventions and researches will be used for advancing the welfare of human society. This rapid advance of science has its lesson for us. While welcoming it, we must come to some workable understanding among nations in order to ensure peaceful use of these inventions. If, God forbid, the nations of the world fail to do that, they will all the while be playing dangerously and irresponsibly with the fate of mankind. The very discoveries which are the result of persistent human endeavour might become an instrument of annihilation of life itself.

I believe these developments provide an appropriate background for an earnest discussion by U.N. of the problem of disarmament and suspension of the test of nuclear weapons. Some nations, including India, have sponsored such proposals. I can only hope that while discussing these proposals all member nations will keep the welfare and survival of mankind above everything else. I have no doubt that this is the least tribute we can pay to the founders of the United Nations as also the best way of honouring the noble sentiments embodied in its Charter.

Let me also express my happiness at the entry as members of U.N. of Ghana and the Federation of Malaya, which have emerged as free nations only recently.

On this day, I send my greetings to all member countries of the United Nations and to the people of the world at large for whose happiness and welfare this organisation is pledged and privileged to work.

RESEARCH ON CHEST DISEASES.*

I am grateful to the Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University for asking me to perform the opening ceremony of the Clinical Research Centre of this Institute associated with the name of the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. I am glad that within a short period of its existence the Institute has done commendable work both in the field of post-graduate medical training as well as research in chest diseases, especially tuberculosis. Without a clinical wing an Institute like this would have remained incomplete, because a clinical research department where patients suffering from chest diseases could be studied and the results of laboratory research applied to them, was a necessity for this Institute.

I am told that this Institute which is intended for teaching and research on chest diseases is the first of its kind in India. Its location in the University Campus will give it the advantage of close association and collaboration with the faculties of basic sciences, arts and humanities. The academic atmosphere which pervades this Campus is an additional advantage which the Institute will have in its present premises. I am therefore happy that the planning which has gone in the setting up of this Institute is thorough and comprehensive.

Tuberculosis is undoubtedly one of our biggest public health problems. Studies of a fundamental nature conducted in the Institute will ultimately be used for its control. Apart from tuberculosis there are various other important chest diseases which are not uncommon in this country. I understand that not much systematic study has been made on problems pertaining to such diseases; nor have we a clear idea of the extent of incidence of such diseases. It should be worth-while making proper surveys to determine how far such ailments develop into T.B. or contribute to the sum total of ill-health prevailing in our country. This Chest Institute can well constitute the centre for undertaking such surveys.

Let me hope the Clinical Research Centre which is being opened today will equip the Patel Chest Institute better not only to serve those who are suffering from chest diseases but also to make an important contribution in the prevention of such diseases.

Ladies and gentlemen—May I express my grateful thanks to the United States and the Technical Mission for the gift which

*Speech made at the Opening Ceremony of the Clinical Research Centre of the Vallabhbhai Chest Institute, New Delhi, October 24, 1957.

they have made; also to the Colombo Plan which has been responsible for so much good which this Institute has been able to do.

I am old-fashioned enough to believe that the best cure is prevention and I have always felt that the medical profession should really be a self-liquidating profession, that is to say, it should end not by curing but by preventing diseases so that in course of time we may have not medical practitioners but health advisers who will go round and keep people in a healthy condition. You may be interested to know that in India according to our old system, there is a science like Ayurved which is not a science of cure but a science of life, and I believe that is the correct angle from which to approach diseases. If you really approach all diseases from that angle, probably there will be no necessity for hospitals and our Health Minister will not have to regret the absence of a sufficient number of beds in hospitals or lack of a sufficient number of nurses. What they will then be looking for would be a sufficient number of health inspectors and health advisers who will be going round the country, removing causes of diseases.

An institute like the one which has been working here can really make a contribution to health problems. The fact that it is located within the university campus should rather be a qualification if you look at it from that point of view. My own fear is that we are giving too much attention to the study of sick men and too little attention to the study of really healthy men because if you really attended to healthy men, there will not be occasion to look for sick men. But somehow or other today we are living in conditions which look topsy-turvy. Therefore I say I am old-fashioned enough to believe that really the best cure is prevention. I am happy that by its researches and by its work amongst people who are really healthy, and also comparing them with people who have lost their health for some reason or other, the Institute will be able to make a contribution to the solution of problems which appear at the present moment in a country like India with its vast population, its poverty and diseases, insoluble. I am therefore happy that this Institute will be able to make the best use of the aid it has received and the equipment which has been given and which it may hope to get in the future, and will be able really to make a contribution to the solution of health problems.

With these words, I have great pleasure in declaring open the Clinical Research Centre of the Vallabhbhai Patel Chest Institute.

AN INSTITUTE FOR ALLEVIATING HUMAN SUFFERING.*

Rajkumariji, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I have great pleasure in being with you today and in extending to all the distinguished guests present a hearty welcome. I am happy to feel that there are as many as 82 countries represented here by their National Red Cross Societies, Governments, and a number of International and National organizations. This is indeed a tangible indication of the great importance attached to this Conference.

India has been the venue of a number of international meetings to consider various subjects, but this Conference has a special significance of its own; it represents the unique humanitarian institution of the Red Cross which, for a century, has been making valuable contribution to human welfare by working for the alleviation of suffering. The activities of the Red Cross during war in giving succour to the sick and wounded and prisoners-of-war, in tracing missing persons and mitigating the brutalities of conflicts in all possible ways are well known.

The Red Cross also seeks to uphold and propagate the ideals of peace by demonstrating through its high principles and actions the brotherhood of man and by appealing not so much to his intellect as to his conscience which is basically ethical, sublime and spiritual. To a country like India, nurtured on the ideals of truth and non-violence, propounded by its Rishis and Lord Buddha, preached by Emperor Ashoka and practised by Mahatma Gandhi, the Red Cross assumes added significance.

In India, the Red Cross has been functioning for about four decades. In its expanding sphere of work it has dealt with a series of natural calamities such as floods, earthquakes and famines. To its lot also fell such unexpected human catastrophes as post-partition disturbances which occurred in the wake of India's Independence, the tribal incursion into Kashmir, mass migration of populations and similar other situations. Our total achievements may not have been commensurate with all the needs of a vast country like ours, but the quality of services rendered despite many limitations has always been commendable. During major emergencies, thanks to the kind co-operation of the International Red Cross Organization and the fraternity of sister Societies, the Indian Red Cross has received gene-

* Address to the International Red Cross Conference on Monday, 28th October 1957.

rous assistance by way of large quantities of relief supplies. This spontaneous sharing of suffering is perhaps the most tangible expression of goodwill, for which we are always grateful.

Towards the promotion of world peace also, the Society's extraordinary assignment in Korea in 1953 was something to which any country could look back with a sense of genuine satisfaction and pride. At all important Red Cross meetings and conferences the Society has been steadfastly upholding the cause of world peace.

The present Conference is meeting at a crucial period of the world's history in a revolutionary era of scientific advancement with the advent of atomic and nuclear energy and the attempted conquest over space. These achievements would have been hailed as great gifts of modern science to mankind but for their grave potentialities and apprehended possibility of being employed as devastating instruments of war and destruction of human race. Coupled with this eventuality is the mounting degree of suspicion, fear, misunderstanding and frustration, which are a constant threat to world peace. Humanity thus seems to be groping in the dark at the cross-roads of destiny, not knowing whether man will attain mastery over his creation of scientific miracles or face extermination. And that, I believe, is the reason for the emphasis of this Conference on the protection of humanity by the prohibition of atomic experiments.

These tests with their radio-active fall-out and unknown after-effects are causing pollution of air and water and may have also genetic effects of unpredictable consequences. It is no consolation to say that the effect of the experimental explosions is not harmful to any dangerous degree. What is wrong in principle cannot be right in practice.

It is obvious that these questions are concerned not merely with the welfare but with the very survival of mankind. I have therefore no doubt that your deliberations will be inspired by most practical realism and in the highest humanitarian traditions of the Red Cross. The voice of this Conference in these vital matters may well express the unexpressed sentiments of humanity at large. I am sure that the world will anxiously watch your activities with great expectations.

" I am, however, not unaware of the limitations of a humanitarian organisation, but, realising as I do, the magnificent achievements of the Red Cross ever since its inception and the commendable role it has been playing for the promotion of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffer-

ing, both in war and in peace, all over the world, and above all the moral force with which it champions the cause of peace, I cannot but look upon its endeavours with reinforced optimism.

I hope you will be interested in the study visits which Rajkumariji has mentioned. I trust that these short trips will afford you some enjoyable relaxation from your strenuous work. You will be able to see how India is upholding and propagating the aims and objects of the Red Cross; you will also have opportunities for gaining some insight into the social, cultural and economic life of our people. In particular, I hope you will see some of our Plans in action and what we are doing to raise the standards of economy of our people from the present state of their backwardness. We would fain readjust our ancient heritage to the needs of modern times without disintegrating our fundamental, spiritual and material concepts of life. The task is stupendous; we are facing it with courage and determination.

I know many of you have travelled long distances to come here at some personal inconvenience. Your host, the Indian Red Cross Society, is doing its best to provide for your comforts; I count upon your indulgence for any shortcomings.

I wish you god-speed in your deliberations and hope your stay in our midst will be fruitful and memorable.

I have now much pleasure in declaring this Conference open.

GIVING EDUCATION A BROADER BASIS.*

It gives me great pleasure to inaugurate this Inter-University Youth Festival. I have been connected with these functions in one way or another ever since they were started four years ago by the Ministry of Education, but I particularly welcome this opportunity of addressing you a few words. I am sure all of you realise the importance of youth movement. It is a well-known fact that young men and women are a nation's backbone, for which reason the upbringing and education of its youth is considered to be a nation's primary duty. Therefore, when after Independence we thought of reorganising our educational system so as to adjust it to our new programmes and nation-building activities, it was considered necessary to provide for such a festival in which young men and women study-

*Speech made at the inauguration of the Inter-University Youth Festival, New Delhi, 1st November, 1957.

ing in various universities of India might participate and spend some time together every year. Such an occasion when students of various universities can mix freely, know one another and appreciate one another's views and mode of living and also participate in open competitions, is of the utmost importance. This festival is thus significant not only from the educational point of view but also because of its great social and cultural value.

If this Youth Festival is getting popular and the number of participants is increasing every year, it need not cause any surprise to any one. Young people always react favourably to new trends and always welcome occasions like this. Besides being a source of healthy recreation, such occasions teach them a good many useful things. Many of you must be thinking of the events—dramas, folk songs and other items—in which you have to compete during your stay here. I am not sure if it would be proper for me to touch upon any serious topic on an occasion like this. But, then, I think the affection and regard which you have shown for me might well be symptomatic of your wish to hear something from me. Besides, such opportunities of speaking to you may also be for me few and far between. Therefore I find it difficult to resist the temptation of speaking to you about a matter close to my heart.

I want to advise you to develop a broad outlook and a liberal attitude in life. This is to say, you should try to be large-hearted in your thoughts and actions. In keeping as it is with our traditional thinking, present-day conditions and national progress also demand it. You all know that India is an ancient country. During thousands of years of its history it has seen many a rise and fall and the coming up and fading away of many a culture. India has witnessed the rise of vast empires and their gradual disintegration. It has even seen the queer phenomenon of its own geographical limits expanding and contracting many a time. In spite of these vicissitudes of fortune India is still by God's grace a living force, while several ancient countries exist today nowhere except in books of history. The foremost reason of this survival seems to be that our traditional thought has some inherent strength in it which manifested itself in the form of a common link binding all the cataclysmic changes. That link is the feeling of broad-mindedness and tolerance. Thanks to this feeling, our system of thought was able to assimilate new ideas and accept new values. To be sure, it is that trait in our culture which has kept us alive and which in course of time laid the foundation of our national unity.

Be that as it may, India has become today a Sovereign Democratic Republic after traversing many a long distance. In its long and chequered history it is perhaps for the first time that the whole country has been brought under one administration, one Constitution and one national flag. The older people have somehow been able to devise for the nation a legal and constitutional mould and give it a *de jure* unity. To improve upon it and make it a *de facto* unity by putting it beyond the pale of doubt, is a task which devolves largely upon the youth of the country. I have already thrown a hint as to how best you may carry out this responsibility. You can do it successfully only by having an open mind and adopting a broad-minded outlook on life. You can achieve it by eschewing narrow-mindedness, by accepting the principle of equality, by rising above factionalism and caste or class distinctions and by forsaking for ever provincial or regional prejudices. It is your good fortune that you are receiving your education in free India. Men like me who have had to study in institutions run by foreigners might well envy you in this respect.

You may have noticed that the whole country is busy implementing the programme of reconstruction. Dams are being built, canals are being dug, heavy industries are being established, cottage industries are being revived, new facilities are being provided to the people in the countryside and everything possible is being done for the economic development of the country. Certainly, you can also lend a helping hand in furthering these activities. If you could directly take up something in hand by working in the cities or villages, well and good; otherwise, you could still do your duty by imbibing the spirit of liberality and thus by giving an impetus to the forces of broad-mindedness. Let it not be forgotten that sooner or later you have to shoulder heavy responsibilities. You are the future nation and the burden of completing the task of reconstruction has to be borne by you. We have tried to make the best of the opportunity that we got and do our bit to make India a prosperous country, but we have never been in doubt that the most valuable wealth of our nation is its youth. May I, therefore, put it to you that you should mould your thoughts and actions according to modern conditions while at the same time remaining steadfast to the long-cherished ideals of this ancient land? You have before you the ideals of universal goodwill, equality, tolerance and patriotism. It is up to you now to translate them in actual life.

All that I have said just now seeks in a way to lay emphasis on character-building. There is nothing worthwhile that man

can achieve in life without character, be it something personal or national. You cannot build your characters by merely reading books or by hearing lofty sermons. For that you have to imbibe the spirit of sacrifice and inculcate faith in yourselves. Once you have developed these virtues, there is nothing, big or small, which you cannot achieve. You should learn to place others before self and service of the society before personal gain. The test of your actions will be your sincerity of purpose, the basic honesty in your word, thought and deed, so that whatever lies hidden within the recesses of your mind is not at variance with the actions you actually perform.

In spite of financial stringency and many other difficulties, we are spending quite a lot on education with a view to providing more and more facilities to our students. Our youth will have fully deserved all these benefits if only young people like you devoted yourselves seriously to character-building and developed a truly liberal attitude in life. Festivals like the one which is being inaugurated today will go a long way in preparing you for such an undertaking. On such occasions you must try to cultivate your fellow-brethren coming from other regions and thus lay the foundation of friendship and goodwill among the entire student community. It is on these occasions that you can develop and imbibe all those *samskaras* on which the edifice of the great Indian nation is going to be raised.

I wish this Festival every success. It is my fervent hope that all of you will benefit from your experience here and that it will pave the way for your future prosperity and happiness.

I have great pleasure now in inaugurating this Festival.

PLACE OF SADHUS IN MODERN SOCIETY.*

I am so glad to have been able to take part in this conference of the Bharat Sadhu Samaj and to meet you all. This organisation is hardly two years old. It is gratifying that within this short period the Sadhu Samaj has set up branches in several States and I hope it will soon be able to have its branches in the remaining States as well.

The aims and objects with which the Sadhu Samaj was established are of such pressing nature that for their fulfilment the Nation expects full co-operation from every individual and

*Inaugural Speech at the Annual Conference of Bharat Sadhus Samaj. Ahmedabad, November 2, 1957.

every institution. Our venture in the field of reconstruction is essentially collective, I should say, in every sense national. Therefore, I felt very happy when you reacted enthusiastically to the proposal to form an organisation of the Sadhus with a view to lending co-operation to Government in its nation-building activities.

You are a thinking and conscientious class. You need hardly be told that there is intimate relationship between the world we live in and **parlok**, the world we strive for. It is not possible to achieve anything in the other world without setting things in order in this world and doing all that is possible for the happiness of the human society. As far as I know, our scriptures do not enjoin indifference towards this world. The great Indian seers have suggested ways and means of carrying on in life realistically with full sense of duty but in an attitude of non-attachment. This good advice is most timely today. I think people like you who have taken to the saintly way of life, should come forward for guiding the people in worldly matters as well.

The world has made great progress from the materialistic point of view. Indeed the rate of this progress has been lately so rapid that man has begun to feel he has already had too much of it. Scientific advance has brought humanity to the cross-roads of destiny, from where branch off the roads to true happiness and to total destruction. The influence of materialism has created doubts in man's mind, making it difficult for him to differentiate between these two roads. Man can know the path of true happiness only when he comes to recognise spiritual values and when he realises that material prosperity is not the be-all and end-all of life. Who can help the Indian people more in this task than the sadhus who should be practising the spiritual way of life as a matter of voluntary undertaking? You can certainly enlighten others by your own example. The time has come when you should take it upon yourself to help the common people in leading a life of morality. In this lies the good not only of India but of humanity.

Our people in ancient times were known for their moderation and equanimity. They did not neglect the spiritual aspect of life in the face of the attractions of material prosperity; nor did they ignore worldly life in order to administer to their spiritual needs. They aimed at evolving a synthesis of these two aspects of life, and in their efforts they were not altogether unsuccessful. We have to revive that sense of harmony and synthesis so that we may build a prosperous India and at the same time raise the moral standard of our people. Today

materialism seems to depend for its survival on the support of spiritualism. By lending their co-operation in the achievement of this task of blending the two forces together, the sadhus can certainly help themselves and the country, if not the world at large.

Happy as I am to be able to greet you today, I would also like to avail of this opportunity to give you some advice informally. In the present-day conditions no individual or group of individuals can afford to ignore public opinion. That is why criticism is no longer looked upon as necessarily opprobrious. We often hear criticism of the sadhus these days as of other classes. Now that fortunately you have organised yourselves, I think it is your duty to consider that criticism impartially with a view to removing its basis, if any, or putting the critics wise as regards the real position. I believe that is the way to restore for sadhus the respect which is their due and to make their Samaj a useful limb of the Indian society.

You could not be unaware of the view held in certain quarters that the country derives no real benefit from the sadhus, and therefore their order should be suppressed by legislation or with the force of social opinion. I am not in a position to say anything about this view, but I must emphasise that any wing of the society which has outlived its utility and which leads a mere parasitic existence, is bound to disappear sooner or later. The fact that such questions have been raised and there is criticism of this kind should be taken by you as a grim warning not to be ignored.

It is indeed lucky that you have now got an opportunity to demonstrate your utility and thereby give a fitting reply to your critics. Along with economic uplift, signs of social and moral revival are visible all over the country today. This is the dawn of a new era in India after centuries. You still wield considerable influence with the common people. Therefore, you can strengthen these welcome trends and give support to this awakening in your day-to-day contacts with the people. It was primarily with this object in view that the Sadhu Samaj was founded, and I am glad you have taken in hand this important work of reconstruction and improving the social fabric of the country in right earnest. It is my desire that the Sadhu Samaj should be so well and effectively organised that in the field of raising the moral level of our people it comes to occupy the same place in our body-politic which our engineers and technologists occupy in the sphere of building dams and setting up heavy industries. There is nothing impracticable in this desire.

No one can deny the force of ideas and the capacity of public opinion these days. I think you are well-equipped to harness these to the country's good. I would, therefore, respectfully insist that you organise yourselves properly and through your contacts and planned work become the torch-bearers of the message of the new age.

There has been some criticism of late of the management of the temples and mathas and the property attached to them. All this property is essentially a religious trust entrusted to the sadhus for management. People expect that these endowments will be utilised in the service of the people in advancing the cause of religion and that in no case will they be abused or spent for unauthorised purposes. These religious trusts should not be looked upon by any one as personal property. It should not be difficult for you to manage these trusts in a way that such criticism loses its validity. This will not only ensure the best possible use of our religious endowments but also stop the frittering away of these resources through improper use.

Whatever the mode of service which you adopt, it is absolutely essential that you lead an exemplary life and your activities are of such a nature that they inspire the respect of your critics and the devotion of those who respect you. In this lies the success of the sadhus and their organisation, the Sadhu Samaj.

I hope the sadhus will come out successful in this test which faces them and that the Sadhu Samaj will be rendering a valuable service to the country. I wish you all luck and have great pleasure in inaugurating this conference.

RECEPTION TO A FOREIGN DIGNITARY.*

I have great pleasure in extending a hearty welcome to Your Excellency on your visit to this country. We are happy that it has been possible for you to pay a visit to India in response to our invitation. For this we are grateful to Your Excellency.

The people of India are greatly interested in the progress and welfare of Viet Nam. While on the one hand the basis for this interest is our connections in ancient times, a still firmer basis has been provided by our common aspirations in the

*President's speech while receiving the President of Viet Nam at the P'an'am Airport on 4th November, 1957.

present age. These aspirations are our desire that every nation in the world is free to mould its destiny with goodwill towards all the other nations and work according to its own genius for the material and moral prosperity of its people.

We are so happy to have Your Excellency in our midst today and once again I express my gratitude for your visit to India.

BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN INDIA AND VIET NAM.*

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with great pleasure that I rise tonight to welcome in our midst His Excellency Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem, President of the Republic of Viet Nam. We welcome him as the Head of a State which, like us, has emerged as a free nation only recently after a long spell of foreign domination. If we look back, we can discover many a tie of friendship and mutual give and take in our past histories. The visit of the President of the Republic of Viet Nam to this country is, therefore, a welcome reminder of the cordial relations subsisting between our two peoples in the past, and perhaps more than that, an indication of the great resurgence that has been taking place in Asia since the end of the last world war.

In the modern age when the advance of science has all but annihilated distance, no two countries can be too far apart from each other; but in case of Viet Nam and India situated as they are in South-East Asia, the feeling of proximity is heightened by their common aspirations and a considerable similarity of the problems that both have to face. The Republic of Viet Nam is striving for the economic development of the country with a view to raising the level of production and the standard of living of its people. Like India, Viet Nam is also predominantly an agricultural country, the bulk of its people depending on land for sustenance. Again, like us, I believe, it is faced with the task of adjusting its age-old economy to the country's industrial requirements and the needs of modern times. We in this country have been making strenuous efforts to raise our agricultural production and do all that is possible to develop its indus-

*Speech made at the Banquet given in honour of His Excellency the President of the Republic of Viet Nam, New Delhi, November 5, 1957.

trially. I am glad Your Excellency will be able to visit at least one of our River-Valley projects and some of our research institutes.

In our approach to world problems and international relations we are animated by the desire to maintain friendly relations with other countries on the basis of the principle of co-existence or Panch Sheel. When the common object is maintenance of peace in the world and the welfare of humanity, which naturally depends on the development of backward countries, we believe neither wisdom nor expediency would dictate a different course of action.

Recently we have been associated with the International Commission for Supervision of the Truce in Viet Nam in terms of the Geneva Agreement. In that connection a good many of our personnel are working on the Commission for maintenance of peace in Viet Nam. I need hardly say that we have nothing but goodwill and a feeling of friendship towards the people of Viet Nam, and it was because of our desire to assist the war-ravaged people of Viet Nam in the maintenance of peace that we, along with other nations, agreed to be on that Commission.

I feel certain that Your Excellency's visit to this country will further strengthen the bonds of friendship and fellow-feeling already subsisting between our peoples. While thanking Your Excellency once again for having accepted our invitation and while extending you a hearty welcome to India, I wish and hope that Your Excellency's stay in this country will be happy and comfortable.

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF ASIA.*

Your Excellency,

It has been a privilege for us to have Your Excellency in our midst these few days and to hear your views on various questions of the moment. If I may say so, Your Excellency's exposition of Asian countries' problems is particularly valuable. Many in this country would welcome Your Excellency's observation that the social revolution in Asia should remain faithful to Asian heritage and ideals exemplified by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. As Your Excellency pointed out, we might continue to draw inspiration from the permanent values of wes-

*President's speech at the Banquet given in his honour by His Excellency Ngo Dinh Diem, President of the Republic of Viet Nam, New Delhi, November, 6, 1957.

tern culture and the advance of scientific knowledge on which it is mainly based, but at the same time we shall do well to refresh our ideas and ideals by acquainting ourselves with what might be called Asia's classical thought. There are in it without doubt gems of wisdom which will be found of universal application and which appear capable of supplementing usefully the elements of modern knowledge.

This valuable heritage to which the peoples of Asia are heir must certainly be preserved not only for the good of Asia but, I believe, for the well-being of the world at large.

In your statements and utterances in New Delhi, Your Excellency has been pleased to refer to India in complimentary terms. While thanking you for those expressions of goodwill, may I say that we reciprocate heartily the warmth and friendly considerations from which they have emanated.

As I said yesterday, Your Excellency's visit to this country will contribute substantially to the strengthening of the friendly ties already subsisting between the peoples of the Republic of Viet Nam and India. I hope this close relationship will augur well for our peoples, the countries of Asia and for the world.

SPIRITUALISM, MORALITY AND EATING HABITS.*

I extend to you, ladies and gentlemen, who have come from long distances to attend this Vegetarian Conference, a hearty welcome. I see before me a gathering of convinced and confirmed vegetarians. Vegetarianism as a movement has been going on in Europe for a long time and Mahatma Gandhi in his **Experiments with Truth** mentions a number of books proving the superiority of vegetarian food from different points of view. He also mentions a Vegetarian Society in London of which he was an active member during his student days in the early nineties of the last century. It is, therefore, not surprising that a Conference of this nature should have been held in some countries of Europe.

You have had previous sessions of the Vegetarian Conference in other countries, but India has certain characteristics which are her own. I do not think there is any other country where people in such large numbers are vegetarians and have been abstaining from meat diet for generations. That has been

*Inaugural speech at the International Vegetarian Congress at Bombay on November 9, 1957.

so because meat diet has been regarded as unsuitable, if not harmful, to spiritual growth, and our scriptures have laid down rules regulating food. These rules are based essentially on an appreciation of the laws of non-violence or *ahimsa*, that is, avoiding harm to all, not only living creatures, but plants, etc., also. All our ancient sciences and shastras look upon life as an integrated whole and co-ordinate different activities in such a way as to fit in with and help in the upward growth of man. We have thus no double standards nor artificial divisions in our activities such as we sometimes hear made by some people. For example, it is common enough to hear that a man's religion is his own affair and has nothing to do with his politics. Similarly his life and politics are two different things, and what he eats, how he lives and carries on his other private affairs have nothing to do with his public activities. We as a matter of fact believe that each activity has its repercussions on other activities and we cannot divide either the activities or their effects. It is on this basis that food is sought to be so related as to create that kind of calm and unperturbed mind, which in its turn may devote itself to private or public functions, to spiritual no less than to mundane affairs.

When I say all this, I do not claim that as a people we are living up to these ideals. If we did, the country and our people would be something very different from what they are : and yet it is some of these which have enabled us to survive trials and vicissitudes which few other nations or people have faced as we have had to do in history. If we analyse the factors, the fundamental thing as I have said above, is non-violence, which in its active and positive form means active love for others, and in its passive form means tolerance for others. In other words, while on the one hand we believe in doing active good, on the other, we believe in allowing others to live their own lives, to have their own thoughts and to talk in their own way and freely. This tolerance has been a characteristic faith of our people and has in fact been the mother of all our metaphysical and philosophical thought, and the growth side by side of different religions within the country. It was not a mere accident but a logical result of our thought processes that at a time when animal sacrifices were insisted upon by the predominant school of thought, Buddhism with its philosophical insistence on non-violence, and Jainism with its practical application in the most meticulous and in some respects extreme form, arose in this country. It was again not an accident but equally a logical process that Christianity, since its earliest days when it had no political significance, and later on Zoroastrianism found a hospitable atmos-

phere and field to flourish in this country. Islam, with all its conquering zeal, became tamed in India, and the conquests by its saints became as significant as, if not more than, the conquests of the Muslim conquerors and rulers. And today we have got a composite culture in which so many elements have contributed to make a mosaic of a most beautiful and variegated pattern of society.

Vegetarianism therefore in India has always been a semi-religious social feature of our life and not merely expressive only of dietetic theories or economic necessity, although results in these respects have also flowed from it. It is therefore not surprising that there are so many castes and communities which have been vegetarian for generations, no member of which has ever touched or tasted meat derived from any slaughtered animal, big or small. When I say this, I should not be misunderstood as claiming that India as a whole is vegetarian or that even a majority of its population is vegetarian. It is only some Hindu castes and communities who are vegetarian as such. The Muslims, the Christians, the Parsis, the Sikhs, and even the Buddhists, are not vegetarians as a community; that is to say, meat-eating is not socially prohibited amongst them, which is the case with the other communities mentioned above. But in another sense a large majority is vegetarian, not in the sense that it does not or cannot eat meat but because it does not get it or cannot afford it. It is only a small proportion of our population who are regular meat-eaters. Even among these, vegetables, cereals and fruits constitute a larger proportion of their daily fare in this country than in other countries.

It may also be stated that we have our peculiar ideas—call them prejudices if you like—about some of these matters. Even those who eat meat are not permitted to take all kinds of meat, but have limitations put on their choice of meat either by restricting the animals the flesh of which may be eaten or by restricting the time and the number of days in the year when it may or may not be taken, and curiously enough, even by the method by which an animal intended for food is to be slaughtered. Thus there are certain animals which differ from community to community the flesh of which may not be eaten and must be eschewed. There are some days or some occasions on which meat may not be eaten, and there are restrictions on the way in which, and the occasion on which an animal may be slaughtered and its flesh eaten. So far as the Hindus are concerned, all these restrictions and inhibitions are based more or less on a recognition of the weakness of man's palate, on the value of abstention and on the necessity of restricting the use as

much and in as many ways as possible. No wonder, therefore that whether as a matter of tradition or family custom, personal belief or communal regulation, or whether as a result of economic factors or appreciation of the value of non-meat diet for healthy growth of body, mind and soul, we have a considerable proportion of our population which completely abstains from meat, and a very much larger proportion which indulges in meat diet occasionally and on particular occasions. I may also note for the information of foreigners who may not be acquainted with our customs, that, generally speaking, in India we do not regard milk and milk products as non-vegetarian food. On the other hand, eggs, even non-fertile eggs, are regarded as non-vegetarian food in orthodox circles.

All these considerations have combined to produce a society in India which in the matter of food differs in this respect from other countries. Whether it was considered a valid argument or not in the olden days when ahimsa and the effect of the food on human nature were emphasized in eschewing animal food, our present-day economic situation fits in very well with our traditional mode of living. Our population is large and is growing tremendously at the rate of 4 to 5 millions per year. The quantity of land is limited and cannot be increased even by an inch. The uncultivated portion may be brought under cultivation, but there is no doubt that within the foreseeable future, it will be impossible to increase the land under cultivation. Increase in yield per unit of land has also conceivably a limit. We have therefore to consider whether cereals or meat can be more economically grown on the land. In countries where vast areas are still available and grazing grounds extend far and wide animals may be bred for meat purposes. "The generally accepted computation is that $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land are required to provide a minimum adequate diet for each person, by Western standards, anyhow. On a vegetarian diet it has been estimated that $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres per head may provide enough. The reason for this difference is that animals grazed for meat-eating purposes require from 9 to 15 times more land than is necessary to raise an equivalent amount of nutrition in the form of grains, vegetables and fruit for human consumption." This is the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Richard B. Gregg, an American, on a study of the literature on the subject. It is therefore a very lucky and fortunate coincidence that our vegetarianism, limited though it may be, reduces tremendously the pressure on land which is already being felt in many parts of the country.

It is not for a vegetarian to claim that his food can produce better men and women than meat food. There may be various

standards for judging men and it is possible that judged by one standard, meat-eaters are better than vegetarians: and vegetarians may be found to be better than meat-eaters if judged by another standard, as for example in the matter of endurance.

But apart from these, there is a fundamental point which has become very relevant in the context of modern conditions and the history of civilization as it has developed during the past few centuries. There can be no doubt that non-violence or the policy of live and let live, is the only policy which can solve most of our troubles and problems. As I have indicated above, in its active form it means readiness to sacrifice one's self, one's comfort and one's ambitions for the sake of others. The alternative is to utilise others to fulfil one's own desires and ambitions. Somehow or other, man has for centuries convinced himself that he is the best and the most evolved of all known creatures and it is therefore only right and proper that all other creatures should be made to subserve man and satisfy him. It is this policy or theory which enables us to slaughter without hesitation other living animals either to satisfy our palate or to fill our stomach or to decorate our body or only to give us amusement as in sports.

In times which were considered to be less civilized and when man was only a hunter, he lived more or less like any other wild animal by hunting another animal for his food. As his tastes and desires were limited, he did not destroy as much as the more civilized man of today has to destroy to satisfy his tastes. In those days, although man lived on other animals, he did not breed animals only to be slaughtered as is done today on a tremendously big scale. Millions and millions of animals are bred and fattened only to be slaughtered to supply food and other requirements of man. Medicines too account for the torture and slaughter of numberless animals in various ways, and so, as we have progressed in civilization, respect for life has become less and less. We have now reached a stage when that lessened respect for life is not confined to what are called lower animals, but has come to include human beings: and therefore it is a matter of deep concern though it is more or less a logical result of lessening respect for animal life that respect for human life also has gone down tremendously. That is, if man being superior to another animal can exploit and even slaughter it for his own purposes, the next natural step is that the stronger man or nation should consider it nothing wrong to exploit or even destroy a weaker man or tribe or nation. This is what has happened and what is at the root of all exploitation by the people of one country of the people of another for no reason except

that it was necessary to do so to raise the standard of living of the former at the expense of the latter.

Not long ago there used to be restrictions on wanton destruction of human life even in war and between warriors of opposing sides. But that idea is now out of date, and today, with the weapons of mass destruction at man's disposal, the human race itself is in imminent danger of being destroyed. It is a far cry from vegetarianism to atomic or hydrogen bomb, but if you look at it, there is no escape from vegetarianism ultimately if we want to escape from the hydrogen bomb. Any integrated view of life as a whole will reveal to us the connection between the individual's food and his behaviour towards others, and through a process of ratiocination which is not fantastic, we cannot but arrive at the conclusion that the only means of escaping the hydrogen bomb is to escape the mentality which has produced it, and the only way to escape that mentality is to cultivate respect for all life, life in all forms, under all conditions. It is only another name for vegetarianism.

Let me hope that your deliberations in the environment of this country will be fruitful and even India, which at the present moment seems to be rushing headlong on the path followed by Western nations, will stop awhile and think out afresh the implications and ultimate consequences of her own policies.

COMMENDABLE WORK OF BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN.*

During my public life and at the time when I was a Minister in the Union Government and during recent years that I have been President, I have had many opportunities of visiting educational institutions of various kinds. I have also been greatly interested in education and its problems. Today when I am participating in the convocation of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, it is only natural that those problems should come to my mind again. Every educational institution has its limitations and restricted programme of work according to which instruction is imparted. Similarly a university carries on its function of education and research according to a considered plan. We have, on the other hand, various concerns and institutions devoted to publication of good and useful books for the benefit of the public.

*Speech made at the Convocation of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, November 10, 1957.

All this makes me wonder what sort of an institution Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan is, because among its aims and objects are included not only imparting modern education but also publication of books, doing valuable research, popularisation of fine arts, giving impetus to Indian culture, furthering the cause of Sanskrit and Hindi languages and literature, etc. Therefore Vidya Bhavan presents to us the model of a cultural academy for which anything related to education or any aspect of culture is relevant. Fortunately I have not only been familiar with Vidya Bhavan from its very inception but have also been connected with it in a way. When Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan was founded and it started its work, there were many who thought its programme was too ambitious and therefore not quite practical, but its work during the last 20 years has given an effective reply to all those who might have entertained such misgivings.

You have just now heard Shri K. M. Munshi and also the director's annual report. It must have given you a fairly good idea of the progress made by the Bhavan and its achievements in various fields. The work which the Bhavan has done in the field of bringing out attractive, highly useful and inexpensive books is indeed pioneering. What I particularly welcome about the activities of the Bhavan is their variety and width of range. About the variety of its work I have already spoken just now. As for the range of its work, it will be enough to say that the Bhavan aspires to be an All India Organisation. For this purpose it has already opened a few branches in other parts of the country. The New Delhi branch was opened a few months ago and prior to that a branch in Kanpur and Allahabad had been set up. It is hoped that in course of time it will be possible for the Bhavan to have branches in southern and eastern India. That will make the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan an all India educational and cultural institution in the true sense of the term.

I would like to say something about the Sanskrit Vishwa Parishad and the Bharatiya Itihas Vibhag of the Bhavan. The Sanskrit Vishwa Parishad has created throughout the country great interest in Sanskrit language and literature during the last six or seven years of its existence. Sanskrit holds the key to our ancient thought and culture and without studying it we cannot familiarise ourselves with our cultural heritage. It is as a result of the Parishad's efforts that the importance of the study of Sanskrit is being realised in all parts of India and a programme of the study and popularisation of this language is expected to be evolved soon. The Parishad's activities have

also given impetus to the study of Sanskrit in our colleges and universities.

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has assigned an important place to historical research from the very beginning, because it felt that knowledge of a country's true history was essential for national progress. Another one or two non-official organisations attempted this task but without much success. Fortunately the History Department of the Vidya Bhavan has met with not only great success but also world-wide recognition in this important work. Their volumes covering the Vedic era and the subsequent periods of history have been widely welcomed. This work, important as it is, is equally difficult because to get at facts or to bridge gaps in history necessarily involves hard labour. It is gratifying to know that the Bhavan has been able to render a satisfactory account in this branch of its work. Ancient history is not merely a collection of events. In our ancient history are reflected the thought and cultural developments of one of the oldest peoples in the world.

I know that the history of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan is really the history of a few individuals' persistent efforts. Among them Shri K. M. Munshi's name comes foremost. In spite of his pre-occupations and many engagements Shri Munshi has always found time for the Bhavan work and one can say that the Bhavan is, what it is, primarily because of the time and thought devoted by him to it. I offer my congratulations to Shri Munshi and all his associates on their success. By founding a broadbased institution like the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, they have rendered a great service to Indian education and culture. Besides helping the cause of education, the activities of the Bhavan have given an impetus to those elements and tendencies which are the essence of Indian thought and on which our traditional culture is based.

It is my fervent hope that success achieved by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan so far will serve only as the basis for a still greater effort and that its achievements will inspire it to still greater undertakings.

PLEA FOR A BETTER DEAL FOR CHILDREN.*

On this day which is being celebrated as Children's Day in India, I send my message of love and good wishes to children all over the world. Generally speaking, most of our time is

*Children's Day Broadcast, November 14, 1957.

spent in considering questions and tackling problems relating directly to adults, and if they have any bearing on the welfare of children, that is only remote or indirect. This division of our time would appear to be disproportionate considering the great importance of the question of child welfare. However, it is a welcome idea to have one day every year to be celebrated as Children's Day when all questions pertaining to children and child welfare would receive special attention.

The urge to improve the living standards of children and to provide them all possible welfare facilities derives as much from humanitarian considerations as from self-interest of adults. A country's children are the nation in the making and the time and resources devoted towards their improvement are essentially a wise investment. Unfortunately millions of children all over the world, particularly in backward and underdeveloped countries are woefully underfed. To ensure proper growth children do not merely need enough food but also essential food from the nutritional point of view. Similarly the social and intellectual requirements of children call for a special consideration at our hands. These are questions which must be tackled despite all handicaps and difficulties, including financial stringency. That is because delay may not be as fatal in respect of the implementation of other projects as it certainly would be if children are not assured their minimum requirements for their physical and intellectual growth.

I am sure the celebration of the Children's Day would spur on to more vigorous action all those who take part in the work of child welfare. Let me hope it will also encourage them to improve the quality of their activity and methods in this field, the most vital in the life of the child.

I am glad to know that the central theme chosen by the International Union of Child Welfare for the observance of the Children's Day this year is that "the child that is hungry must be fed". If we put a wider interpretation on this theme, it should encompass wider needs such as hunger for play, hunger for love and hunger for security. After all a child needs these as much as nutritious food. I wish the Indian Council for Child Welfare the best of luck in its efforts to rally public opinion in support of this campaign for the betterment of our children.

HEADQUARTERS BUILDING FOR COUNCIL FOR CHILD WELFARE.*

No programme of social welfare is complete unless adequate place has been assigned in it to the welfare of children. There may be several sections of the community in distress or in need of relief and guidance, but the case of child welfare stands on an altogether different footing and calls for special efforts on the part of social workers. The foremost reason is the numerical superiority of children over any other group deserving of organised help, and an equally forceful reason is the wide scope and far-reaching effect of such help rendered to children who have before them the full span of life to be lived. Help given to children is, therefore, in a sense more creative in so far as it puts them on their feet and seeks to equip them to lead a better and healthier life.

Child Welfare work should be seen from another angle and its value assessed from another point of view. The time, resources and attention devoted to it will not only make sure of a better nation in the future, but will also tend to minimise the care devoted at present to the welfare of other sections of the community. Improving the child is like watering a plant at its very root. If children are taken proper care of, there is every reason to believe that the incidence of social maladjustment in future life would be appreciably reduced. Therefore, I think that as a matter of policy also some precedence has to be given to child welfare over other aspects of welfare in society.

The injunction contained in the Directive Principles of our Constitution recommending the creation of a Welfare State in India, has been a subject of constant comment ever since the drafting of our Constitution. Many backward areas and handicapped sections of the Indian society have looked to this provision with hope and expectation and have hailed it as the recognition of their claim and inalienable right to expect better living conditions. Thus a network of welfare organisations is gradually coming up. More and more attention is being paid to this work not only by Government but also by private agencies. Our five-year plans, our socio-economic set-up and our administrative structure—all these are being slowly attuned in response to that sacred Constitutional Directive and subsequent popular expectations.

*Speech made on the occasion of Laying the Foundation-Stone of the Headquarters Building of the Indian Council for Child Welfare, New Delhi, November 14, 1957.

All our efforts, many-sided and vigorous as they are, to bring a Welfare State into being will remain abortive, unless special attention were paid to the work of child welfare. I do not suggest that it is going to be a simple matter. It calls for an all-out and organised effort and also considerable material resources. It was, however, with full knowledge of these difficulties that we chalked out our programme and assigned to child welfare in our schemes the place which it has got. In a few years to come we expect every child in India will have a school to go to. With our expanding health services, the child will receive better medical care. Efforts are also being made to pay special attention to the needs of the physically and socially handicapped children. It is also recognised that our youth and children must have ample opportunities for healthy recreation. This is a good enough beginning, but let it not be forgotten that it is no more than a beginning. To consolidate this work and to make sure that the efforts that are being made will not be wasted and that they will benefit the largest number of children, is a duty which devolves upon all social workers, be they public men or Government officials or school teachers. It is the efforts of these people, their devotion to this cause and their sincerity of purpose which will be a determining factor in the achievement of our objective.

The foremost need in this connection, it will be admitted on all hands, is the creation of a central body charged with the task of promoting and organising child welfare. It was for this purpose that the Indian Council for Child Welfare was created. This Council provides the right forum for all individuals and agencies in the field of child welfare working at present in mental and physical isolation in different parts of the country. These agencies and individuals must come out of their isolation, pool their resources, share their experiences and start working closer together for giving a better deal to the children of India. I believe this is the principal responsibility of the Indian Council for Child Welfare.

To be able to work effectively, the Council must have a central office and it is for that purpose that the Council has been pleased to invite me to lay the foundation-stone of its headquarters building today. One thought that New Delhi was cluttered with too many offices and it might have been better if the central offices of the Indian Council for Child Welfare were located in some other town, preferably a more centrally situated place. However, this is only a point of view. The Executive Committee of the Council knows better and I take it that they must have taken this decision to locate their head-

quarters in New Delhi after full consideration of all the questions concerned.

I am glad to know that though the Indian Council for Child Welfare was formed in 1952, it has established contacts with child welfare councils operating in various States. I have noticed with great satisfaction the Council's activities and its future programme. The setting up of children's bureaux where all information regarding children's literature, their welfare services, possibilities of international contacts, etc., will be available, is a commendable venture. Let me hope the Council will soon be able to establish a central Children's Bureau for the study and collection of data on Indian children and their needs and activities.

I wish the Indian Council for Child Welfare all luck and hope that by its work for the betterment of our children, it will be able to make a substantial contribution to the building of a New India.

HOMAGE TO THE WAR DEAD.*

We are assembled here today to do honour to the memory of those twenty-five thousand soldiers and airmen who died in the Second World War. The names of those who fought and died in other countries are carved on memorials erected in foreign lands. These twenty-five thousand men died in India and their names are given in this book.

These men fought and died for a cause which they had made their own so that others may live and enjoy the fruits of freedom.

This memorial like similar ones established in different and distant parts of the world would remind soldiers and civilians alike of the sacrifices made by these fighters and inspire those who have survived them and also generations yet unborn with courage and determination which makes it possible for a man to place a cause above his own life.

We honour their memory and pray that the hope and ideal which they cherished may be fulfilled and freedom established in all corners of the world and among all peoples, irrespective of their race, colour or religious faith. While paying our homage to these men, let us hope that those for whom they fought will prove worthy of their supreme sacrifice.

* Speech made on the occasion of the unveiling of the War Memorial at Delhi Cantonment on November 14, 1957.

BLESSING OF FAITH—REAL BASIS FOR PEACE.*

It has given me great pleasure to have come here today to inaugurate this Conference of All Religions. I welcome this opportunity of hearing the views on an important subject of scholarly and devout people present here and also of saying a few words on it myself.

Basically all faiths have one and the same object, namely, enabling the human soul to attain to its full height of evolution so that man can achieve real peace or *moksha* or *nirvana*; in other words, man may lose his identity with that of the Supreme Being and get absorbed in Him. This aspiration of man is so strong and so natural that no other urge can give him surer guidance in life. The moment we touch the level of true religion, mutual suspicions and bickerings disappear and man is face to face with a breadth of vision before which all human beings appear as equal. Spiritual view of life is another name for this feeling. It should be quite clear that genuine peace and happiness of man are inextricably linked with this view of life. It does not mean that bodily comforts and material prosperity should be necessarily eschewed. What is meant by saying it is that this prosperity should not be mistaken for life's summum bonum. Material well-being may be looked upon as one of the means for achieving the highest good.

We find a number of faiths and religions prevalent in the world. On account of the differences in time and space, religious faith has taken different forms and we find people divided among various faiths. As a result of formal rituals and external symbolism these differences have gone so deep that we find in history man turning against man, tribe against tribe and country against country. On occasions, keen on destroying others in the name of religion, man has not refrained from shedding blood. The number of religious wars in human history is legion and the suffering caused by them is indescribable. While, on the one hand, we find man resorting to injustice, narrowness and cruel behaviour in the name of religion, on the other we also see the spectacle of many a faithful person inspired by religion passing through untold sufferings even to the extent of giving away his life. Alas, it is not possible to say even today that man has outlived the animal instinct which impels him to believe that his views alone are right and to persuade others by force and repression to accept his beliefs.

*Inaugural speech made at the World Conference of All Religions, New Delhi, November 17, 1957.

The progress of science has brought us face to face with another difficult and complicated problem. In the wake of his mastery over Nature and its forces man has begun to look upon himself as omniscient, and indeed it would not be surprising at all if mistaking material prosperity and comfort for the ultimate goal of life he were to consider himself as omnipotent also. The basis of religious belief is not material but spiritual in nature.

Although this idea is as old as the cosmos, yet unfortunately it appears to have remained dormant as a moving force. Perhaps it is due to the predominance of materialistic outlook among the people. With the help of science man has largely succeeded in analysing and controlling the forces of Nature and this strutting progress has laid before him the snare of delusion. Man has not been able to free himself from the excessive influence of materialism, though as a result of latest researches science itself seems to be overgrowing and surpassing the bounds of materialism and coming closer to a recognition of the spiritual forces. The situation which we are facing today as a result of the invention of destructive weapons is such that in sheer self-protection we are beginning to incline towards spiritualism. It is gratifying that in unchecked advance of the means of destruction man now sees the ghost of his own annihilation and has thus been persuaded to look elsewhere for a way out of this quandary. The only way which can help him in this predicament is the way of truth and non-violence. This alone can give man real peace and happiness.

Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that man can neither benefit fully from the advance of science nor escape his sure doom without giving due place in life to religious or spiritual values. It is these forces which the Conference of Religions is keen to awaken and revitalise. It is on this foundation that it is going to raise the structure of a new human society.

There are certain facts in life which appear to be straight and simple and apparently within easy grasp. We see those things clearly and feel the truth of their existence, but for one reason or another turn our back on them or are unable to accept them as such in actual life. It is difficult to say whether the fault lies with our surroundings or with human nature. What is beyond doubt is that to realise these simple facts, to have faith in them and to act up to them in life is the greatest blessing one can imagine or aspire to.

Religion is the foremost among such facts. If we go into the intricacies of philosophy or metaphysics, it will be hard to

define religion with all its subtleties and it would be difficult to derive guidance from it in every-day life. It would be easier to define religion if we view it as man's inner experience and thought and belief. The finer form of religion is concerned with man's inner experiences, which, strangely enough, are also responsible for the birth of religious belief in human mind. Its outer form, on the other hand, is seen in one's behaviour and actions in every-day life. In a wider sense we could say that religion consists of those beliefs and ideas which hold for us the key to the mysteries of the origin of life and the relationship between man and the Supreme Being. It is religion or **dharma** which supplies the real basis for peace, for life's highest aspirations and for the knowledge of the great seers. It is also the ultimate goal of all devotees' and mystics' search no less than the aim of all literary endeavour. Religion thus is not only essential but inevitable for man as an individual and as a member of society.

It is only proper that the Conference of all Religions should have been convened in India where men belonging to all faiths and religious denominations live in peace and goodwill towards one another. Without this feeling of tolerance and mutual accommodation life here would be too hard indeed. The credit for this goes to our ancestors, to our saints and **faqirs**, and our religious leaders who from the very dawn of history have placed before us the ideals of tolerance, faith and respect for all religions. This fundamental right of freedom of belief and of propagating it for all the citizens we have incorporated in our Constitution. There are some who think that because we are a Secular State, we do not believe in religion or spiritual values. Far from being so, it really means that in this country all are free to profess or preach the faith of their liking and that we wish well of all religions and want them to develop in their own way without let or hindrance.

It does not mean that man should consider himself free from all those injunctions and social restraints which have been responsible since the earliest times for organised and regulated life and which are inevitably necessary for the development of his individuality and the evolution of the ideal social order. It means that no individual or society should dominate other individuals or societies by suppressing them and that everyone must have full scope of development. This will be possible only when every individual and every society shows respect for the feelings and interest of others. Suppression of others must not be considered merely as against principles of fairplay but also as incompatible with one's own real self-interest. Thus

alone can the feeling of genuine love and tolerance be brought about without which true peace and happiness of the individual and the society will ever remain a mirage.

Before concluding I would like to say that in the light of the history of the past few thousands of years, we must pause and see if violence and aggression have done any good to human society or if they have been able to stop wars. The world has seen thousands of wars, hoping that thus aggression would end. That has not happened. Is it not the time we gave up violence and gave a trial to non-violence and tolerance? Whatever we do to promote these is to the good of the world, and this is also the aim of this Conference.

May this Conference of Religions inspire all to imbibe this feeling of broad tolerance and may its proceedings give an impetus to the forces of world peace, is my wish and prayer.

PROGRESS OF PRINTING IN INDIA.*

It gives me great pleasure to be present here today at this function for giving away awards to winners in this year's competition for excellence in printing. I must compliment the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting for instituting these awards in their effort to encourage the printing industry and other graphic arts in India. Such a step, while recognising the rapid progress made by this industry in recent years, also provides a definite impetus to the improvement in technique and workmanship in printing and allied arts.

Today as I see the great strides we have made in this country in the art of presenting the printed word, I am perforce reminded of those days when in the late twenties I was in some way connected with two journals in Patna. Those were the days of hand-setting when legibility was the sole criterion of excellence in a newspaper or periodical. Newspaper readers were not so many in those days and the number of dailies, weeklies and other periodicals was still less. As in other spheres of activity, great progress has been made in recent years in printing craft also. Not only has the number of journals gone up, the art of display and presentation has also made much headway. With the invention of newer and better machinery, the technique of printing may be said to have undergone almost a metamorphosis. In India we have beautifully illustrated journals

*Speech made while giving away State Awards for Excellence in Printing, New Delhi, November 21, 1957.

with wide circulation, journals representing all interests and all walks of life, from political parties to vegetable growers' co-operatives. It is not thus the speed in excellence and printing alone which has registered a remarkable advance but the range and readership of journals have also widened very considerably.

There is another important aspect of our life which vests improvement in printing with great significance. As a rising nation we are firmly resolved to eradicate ignorance and illiteracy from India. That is a stupendous task which we cannot hope to achieve without the printer's co-operation. Whether it is the text-books meant for our teeming school-going children or pamphlets, posters or periodicals published for the dissemination of information and knowledge, it is the art of printing which has to be pressed into service at every stage. A printed word has thus become perhaps the most potential medium of educating the people.

The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting which deals with newspapers and periodicals and which is also responsible for the production of many official journals and useful publications, is best fitted to organise a competition like this and to confer State Awards on those who have been adjudged best in the various branches of printing and graphic arts.

I am glad this competition covers a wide field and has kept in mind the need of giving special encouragement to the production of books and journalistic literature in Indian languages. It is only two years that these awards were instituted, the first competition having been held in 1955. Judging from the number of entries you had this year, which is more than double the figure in 1955 and about 50 per cent higher than in 1956, one could say that the competition is gaining in popularity and that you have succeeded in enlisting the co-operation of the newspaper industry and the printing and publishing trades in the country. I have no doubt that it is a constructive step towards raising the general standard of printing. Though, compared to the standards obtaining in Western countries like the United Kingdom and U.S.A. and also in some Eastern countries like Japan, we are still lagging behind, your determination to go ahead is a sure sign that sooner or later we shall catch up with those countries.

I offer my congratulations to all the winners who have been given State Awards this evening.

THE SPARK OF DIVINITY.*

Swami Ranganathanand Ji, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I consider it very lucky to have been asked to come here and participate in this function. Ramakrishna Paramahansa is a name well-known the world over. This great man was born at a time when we had lost touch with our ancient heritage and were being forcibly drawn towards new ideas. The impact of Ramakrishna Paramahansa's personality gave us new light which helped us to reverse that trend. Since that time all the devotees and believers who have been inspired by that light have been dedicating their lives to the service of humanity in the name of God. Consequently we find the branches of Ramakrishna Mutt founded by Swami Vivekananda established in most of our towns, big and small. Wherever one may go in these Mutts, one will find Swamis anxious to share his misery, whether it is the result of Nature's wrath or one's own misdeeds or negligence.

It has been my good fortune to have been associated with this work of service on some occasions, and I have been lucky to have got the unstinted co-operation and kindness from the Swamis. That has made me an ardent admirer of Ramakrishna Mission. I cannot claim the knowledge or practice of Yoga-Sadhana in which they are adept; nor can I say that I am as deeply read in religious literature as they are. The life of dedication and discipline which they lead will always remain my envy. In spite of these vows and limitations which they impose upon themselves, selfless service to humanity is their foremost motto. It is men of this type who look upon service as a matter of religious duty that our country needs today. I take it all this is the result of the teachings and the inspiration imparted by Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa.

Ramakrishna Paramahansa himself was not a man of scholarly pursuits or one of those who generally devote themselves to big things in life. He was God's own man and his heart was on the one hand full of godliness and on the other of love and sympathy for every human being. He was not just a religious leader. Even those who were neither interested in nor influenced by religion and who according to the standards prevalent in those days were considered to be erudite scholars were drawn towards Ramakrishna Paramahansa and they flocked to his fold. I can attribute this divinity the spark of

*Translation of speech made at the inauguration of the new temple in Ramakrishna Mission premises, New Delhi, on 30th November 1957.

which we see in Ramakrishna Paramahansa, only to the "samskaras" of his previous life.

It is their good fortune that the people of Delhi are going to have this beautiful temple, thanks to the munificence and goodness of Shri Davar. Here thousands of men and women would be coming everyday for a glimpse of Shri Ramakrishna's image and also for hearing the "Upadesa". I am told even hitherto a large number of people had been coming here everyday. Now that this big temple has been erected and the new image of Ramakrishna installed there, many more people would be able to attend the daily service in the Ramakrishna Mission and thus help themselves in this life.

I would like to reiterate that I am very happy to have come here today and associated myself with this inaugural function for which I am grateful to the Trustees of the Ramakrishna Mission.

DEMOCRACY COMPATIBLE WITH FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL.*

Mr. Chairman, Delegates to the Conference, Members of the Parliamentary Association and friends,—

It is a matter of great pleasure to me to be able to meet you all in this Conference this morning.

I have been looking forward to this day for some time, because I attach importance to a Conference like this. I desire to thank you for the honour which you have done me by asking me to inaugurate it. Its importance becomes apparent when we realise that it is the first time that this Conference is meeting in an Asian country. Further, we know that it is being attended by representatives from nearly fifty countries, and there are about a hundred delegates meeting here.

We all belong to the Commonwealth, and we are held together, not by any coercive apparatus, but by the free will of all the component parts. And this Conference, by the way in which it conducts its proceedings, and the methods and the procedure which it follows, shows the way in which, if the world were to fashion its own affairs, we would be in a much happier world than the one we are in today.

Naturally, all the Parliaments and legislatures which are functioning in the various countries in the Commonwealth have

*Inaugural address to the Commonwealth Parliament Conference, New Delhi, December 2, 1957.

a common background and a common history, and they all derive from the British Parliament and the British Constitution. Although there are very important and significant differences between the Constitutions of these countries, there is no doubt that the underlying basic principle of democracy, which stands for freedom of the individual is the same in all, and that is only natural because we have all derived from the British Parliament, and we still continue to derive inspiration from its proceedings, from its history, from its traditions and from its doings.

If an outsider were to attend a meeting of our Parliament here, he would see to what extent our hon'ble Speaker, and the hon'ble Chairman of the Rajya Sabha draw upon the precedents and experience of the British Parliament. I feel that it would be a bad day for us and for others too, if anything were to happen which would in any way weaken the bond which subsists between the different countries of this Commonwealth.

Silken Bond.

That bond, as I have said, is not based on force. It is a silken bond which is invisible, but nonetheless strong. It is capable of standing strains and stresses, of standing jerks which have now and then come, and it has been able to stand those jerks, those strains and stresses, and I shall hope that it will continue to be like this.

The value of conferences like this and of a parliamentary association of the various countries within the Commonwealth consists in the opportunity, which it offers to individual Members of Parliament to gain information, to exchange experiences and also to get facilities for visiting different countries and acquainting themselves first-hand with the methods and procedure followed in those Parliaments.

I believe there is much that the younger Parliaments particularly can learn from these Conferences, and I am also vain enough to think that perhaps even the older Parliaments might also derive some benefit by studying what is being done in the younger Parliaments of the Commonwealth. There should be, as has been pointed out, a sort of cross-fertilisation of ideas between the older and the younger Parliaments, and I am hoping that this Conference will be fruitful of such results.

Democracy in India.

We have a democracy which is, in one sense, a young democracy and, in another sense, an old democracy. It is young

in the sense that we have adopted the present form of democracy which is prevalent in the western countries and we have had a short experience of a sovereign Parliament of less than ten years up to now. We have an old democracy because the fundamental principle of democracy, namely, the freedom of the individual, and the recognition of that freedom by everybody else is as old as the hills and the rivers of India.

We have a tradition, which goes back to millenniums, of complete tolerance of opinions, of complete tolerance of differences in outlook, of complete tolerance even of practices, and that is why we in this country have been able to stand the buffets of history from time to time, the always unbearable strains which we have had to bear during these thousands of years. And if I may claim something for our old traditions, it is this, that although we have had a most chequered history—perhaps the most chequered history that any civilised country in the world has had—yet we have survived all these buffets, all these revolutions. And while Kings and Emperors have come and gone, while empires have risen and fallen, while religions have changed and shifted, we have survived all these and India even today can claim that she has an individuality of her own which she has preserved for centuries (**Applause**).

It is because we are both young and old that we may be able to contribute something to your discussions. Within these ten years I see a young democracy following the democratic method and principle followed in European countries. We have had two general elections with an electorate which in round numbers consisted of 200 million men and women, of whom nearly 100 million actually participated in the voting at these elections. They voted for nearly 4,000 representatives to represent them in the Union Parliament and in the State Legislatures and other similar bodies.

We can claim this at any rate—even if we do not claim it, this has been the econومی showered on us—that we have managed to hold these elections without disturbance, without coercion in a free atmosphere (**Applause**). What we are going to do and what we are able to do, it is difficult to say at this stage, because our experience is not enough to enable us to arrive at any judgment of our own, much less perhaps to enable you, who do not know us so well, to arrive at any correct judgment.

Reconciliation of Interests.

The fundamental basis, as I have said, of all democracy is individual freedom, and the problem which has always been

before humanity is to reconcile this individual interest with the interest of the society as a whole. In the west, the form which this reconciliation has taken is the form of a representative government where not the individual voter but his representative votes and runs the government and the administration.

There was a time in past history when every voter practically voted on particular measures and particular policies which the Government was going to adopt. That time is no more; perhaps it is not possible either. Arising out of that, the representative government has been considered to be the best in the circumstances. To run the administration in that representative government, it becomes necessary to have also parties. The British system provides for such parties which exchange places from time to time and run the administration.

Here in this country, we have had one advantage. Ever since we got power, we have had in an overwhelming measure the support of the country for the government which belongs really to one party. It has been a good and great thing in the formative years of our freedom. It has been a good thing because it had enabled a stable government to function while we were engaged in very many difficult tasks following the birth of our freedom.

While it has been a good thing—this stable government, this overwhelming support to one party—it has deprived us of one advantage also. It has deprived us of that variety of experience which we would have got if there had been change of government. We are not in a position today to see how we shall act and how we shall behave if there is a change in our government. So, while it has been good in one way, it has its disadvantage also in another way.

But there is another, and a more fundamental, question. The system of voting which prevails and under which the representatives are elected, is not always the best, nor, even if the system is good, is the exercise of the right always done in the best way. Very often it may happen—probably it does happen in other countries—that while the administration is being run by a party which has got a majority of seats in the Parliament and, therefore, it can function, it has got a minority of votes in the country as a whole. That experience has been gained in other countries and we do not know whether we may also have that kind of experience in this country in future.

As a matter of fact, I have seen it stated that in some constituencies at least, the Member does not represent the majority of the voters, but he is there because there was a contest and

there was a multiplicity of parties amongst the candidates, people belonging to various parties, and the votes became divided and so one party succeeded as against the others. That is perhaps on a small scale at present but that is a thing which may be repeated on a very much larger scale in future. I do not know how we shall take that combined with the change of Government in the future. This thing happens in other countries which have had a longer experience of parliamentary institutions. They know it; they understand it and they can put up with it. I do not know how we shall behave if it comes to happen here in this country. It is, therefore, necessary not to be satisfied with the system which we have got, but to be also thinking of something better if it is possible, something which will really represent the voter, in which the Government really represents the electors, in which every member feels that he has a right, a hand in the administration of the country.

It very often happens that the opinion represented by a representative is not the opinion of a single voter of his constituency. It may not be the opinion of the majority; it is not also the opinion of a single voter. The same thing happens in Parliament also. When a Member votes under party whip, he does not necessarily accept the opinion for which he votes, as his own, which he thinks best in the interest of the country as a whole. Is there any way of reconciling this conflict between individual opinion of Members and the opinion of the voters represented in a represented assembly? I do not know. There were days when every voter had a hand in running the administration. Those days are gone; they are past; they cannot be called back. But perhaps we might draw some conclusions or at any rate, if not conclusions, we might get a line for investigation if you thought of the village communities in India. It was these village communities which represented practically a republic in each village which enabled the country as a whole to maintain its integrity and its identity in spite of the political revolutions, in spite of the difficulties which it had to face from outsiders, from invaders, from conquerors and from those who came and settled down here for some reason or the other.

Revival of Panchayats.

Here in this country we are now giving some sort of a trial by reviving our panchayats, that is to say, our village associations which will represent the village, and although we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that we are trying to revive these panchayats, I am not sure if we have a clear conception

of what these panchayats are expected to do or what they are expected to achieve. I would suggest that this would be a fruitful line for investigation if these panchayats could not be entrusted with more and more power so that in the village itself much of what is needed is done by the people there and the Central Government governs less and less until it becomes the best Government, least governing. This idea sometimes strikes me and I feel that in this Conference when you will be discussing one item on the agenda which relates to parties, perhaps your thought might go in this direction and you may consider how and to what extent the reconciliation which is needed between the individual opinion and the collective opinion can be made possible or realised in this method.

As you are going to discuss a number of very important subjects dealing with the Commonwealth, I desire to say this that in this Commonwealth we have got practical seeds of what I have been driving at. We have got decentralisation which is expanding more and more. From the government by the British Parliament of distant parts of the world, we have come to a stage when these distant parts have become independent and autonomous and perhaps these distant parts, in their own affairs, are delegating more and more power to their subordinate bodies, to their subordinate organisations and therefore, the seeds of decentralisation which alone can satisfy the needs of an integrated and co-ordinated movement of freedom for every individual might be secure.

Today, we need this individual freedom and this concept of individual freedom is to be realised more than ever before because we stand on cross roads of history. While on the one hand the power of the State is increasing and enveloping the individual more and more, I think we are also thinking of raising the standard of living of the individual and that standard includes not only his material requirements but also his mental, moral and spiritual needs. We have to consider to what extent these moral, spiritual needs can be satisfied so long as there is competition, so long as there is that emphasis on material prosperity, so long as there is that emphasis on raising the standard of material living, neglecting other things in life. I hope and trust that your discussions will be fruitful and you will be able to draw inspiration from one another's experience and we in this country will profit by your discussions.

With these words, I desire to extend to you all a hearty welcome once again and to inaugurate this Conference.

OPENING OF INDIAN LAW INSTITUTE.*

Mr. Chief Justice, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I am very happy to be with you this afternoon to be able to participate in the inauguration of the Indian Law Institute.

You have pointed out to us the aims and objects with which this Institute has been established. In a country where we have decided to have a welfare State, legislation on many subjects is an absolute necessity and when we think of the various problems which confront us and of the ways in which many of these problems will have to be solved, when we think of the leading part which law still plays in many of them, the necessity of an institute which will devote itself to the cultivation of law in a scientific spirit, to its study, to a comparative study of the various branches and aspects of law and also with a view to suggesting reforms not only in the body of the law but also in the procedure and in the administration of it, we can realise the importance of an institute like this. It is necessary that there should be a body which works quietly in an atmosphere which is free from the din of courts and also away from the controversy of the legislature, where attention is paid to the various implications of a particular kind of legislation and where legislation which has already been adopted is studied for the objects it has achieved and for the way in which it has been worked. This can be done by an institute like this.

A tremendous amount of legislative activity has been going on in this country since we attained independence. If I tell you from the 1st of January 1953 till the 30th November, 1957, more than 350 bills were passed by Parliament, and in four years, 1953, 54, 55 and 56 no less than 2,557 bills were passed by the State legislatures. Of these more than 2,500 bills, 1,114 came up to the President for his consideration and assent. And of these 1,114, 275 dealt only with land laws. So you can understand the amount of legislative activity which has been going on. Now one of the fundamental principles of law which I learnt as a youngman was that everybody is supposed to know the law so that if anyone did anything which goes against law, he could not plead ignorance as a defence. But when we have such a plethora of legislation, I doubt that even judges are able to keep pace with the laws which are passed from day to day, and which are probably turned out as quickly as any press can print them.

*Speech made while inaugurating the Indian Law Institute at New De'hi on December 12, 1957.

Under these circumstances it becomes necessary for a body like yours to keep pace with the law, to study its implications and from time to time to draw attention of the legislature, draw attention of the judges and to draw attention also of the people, specially of the Governments to any shortcomings that there may be and any good points they may come across in them. It is only in this way that we can really keep on the right path.

As I have said, in a welfare State we have to pass laws on many subjects. But more laws mean two things. More laws on the one hand mean more litigation, more laws on the other hand mean more restriction on the liberty of the individual. We can probably control litigation to some extent and we would probably be in a position to so arrange and administer that it may not prove as big a burden as it has done so far. But so far as restriction on the freedom of the individual is concerned, we have to consider it from a different aspect altogether. While on the one side we recognise that the greatest amount of freedom should be assured to the individual, on the other side we also have to recognise that in a welfare State the individual's liberty to deal with himself and to deal with others has to be restricted more and more. The best Government has to find out the best means by which these two more or less conflicting ideas can be reconciled. The middle course has to be found and in finding that middle course an institute like this which works, as I said, outside the din of courts and beyond the controversy of legislatures, can be of immense help. It is from this point of view that I have welcomed the foundation of an institute like this which will, I have no doubt, serve a great purpose if it does its work well, successfully and efficiently. I have no reason to think that it will not do its work efficiently.

With the auspices under which it has been started, with the membership which it has been able to secure and with the support which it has got, it should be able to do its work well and I can only hope that in course of time you will gather more and more influence and would be able to make real and genuine contribution to the solution of many problems which will face us, because after all a comparative study of law is of value, comparative study not only of law as it existed in the past and as it exists today but a comparative study of different systems of law in different countries of the world.

Now here we have to remember that in this country we have a tradition which is perhaps more or less like the tradition of England. There they have the common law which was not a codified law and it has taken centuries to petrify. Here in this country the law was laid down and there was

complete freedom for local prejudices if you like to call them so, local conditions to influence the law as it was actually applied, and so customary law in India has a place and is as strong as any law which may be passed by the legislature. We have recently now undertaken to codify some of these customary laws also.* I call all these laws customary laws because they are more or less of that type although they may have had their origin in some kind of a code laid down by Manu or Yagyavalkya. Now all those laws have had this advantage that with the passage of time they have introduced revolutionary changes. The text has remained the same, but the various schools which have grown up and the interpretation which has been put upon them, have done the same kind of thing that the American courts have done to the American Constitution. A short constitution within the last, say, 175 years has undergone tremendous changes, not by changes and actual amendments of the Constitution, but by the interpretation put upon the few sections of the Constitution, and that is the kind of amendment which our customary law has been undergoing, and I sometimes wonder if by codifying them, we are not really helping to petrify them! We are closing the door against social changes which may be coming. If these laws are left free, they will adjust themselves according as society needs them to be adjusted, but if they are codified they will have to be amended only by legislative enactment and I do not know if we are really wise in putting all our laws into the strait jackets of codes. This is one aspect which your Institute might investigate. I am not suggesting that this is wrong or right; I am only pointing out to you a subject for study and for investigation.

Similarly there may be other subjects which will come up to you. In this connection these uncoded laws have also undergone a great deal of change by interpretation in courts and we have got a series of law reports which have come down from the very beginning of the British rule in India, and now with the codification, many of these decisions are either obsolete or are probably misleading. It might be one of the things that may be considered is how far these out-dated and out-moded decisions of courts which have been superseded by legislation now, should be allowed to remain in the Law Reports and thus confuse the ordinary man. If by some kind of legislation or by some means you could eliminate them, then the courts will have to fall back upon the words of the codes. They will not have to dive into the interpretations which have from time to time varied, of these laws. This is another aspect which you might consider.

Then with regard to the study of law, as has been pointed out by the Chief Justice, we have got our universities each of which has, I believe, a faculty of law where law is taught. A degree in law is a *sine qua non* for a man to be able to practise in a law court. All that is there. But I do not know if the standards are the same or if they differ widely from one another. Possibly that might also interest you so that as in the case of medical practitioners they have got some kind of association which to some extent controls and regulates the standard of teaching and qualification for admission to the medical profession, perhaps you might also advise the governments and the universities to have some kind of a standard which will be prevalent all over the country.

You have said that you have a claim upon me because I was once a lawyer. Well, I admit that claim, but I do not think I deserve to be anything like a patron of an institution like this because in your own language I have long ceased to be a lawyer and I am time-barred! If I can be of any service to you, I shall of course be always at your command.

With these words, I desire to inaugurate this Institute.

SEARCH FOR CONTINUITY IN INDIA'S HISTORY.*

Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Members of the Oriental conference, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I appreciate and am grateful for the honour which you have done me by asking me to inaugurate this Conference. At the same time I must confess to a sense of embarrassment because I feel I lack the equipment that you expect in a man who is to address a gathering of learned people like those whom I see before me. The very enumeration of the subjects by Dr. Rao in which you are interested and in which you have been carrying on study and research, ought to be enough to frighten a man like me who can have no claim to study of any sort of any of them. I feel however that the subjects in which you are interested are subjects which ought to interest not only scholars but also the ordinary man.

Specially in India we have been able to preserve and continue a kind of culture and civilisation which has come down from countless centuries. We have heard and we have

*Speech made at the inauguration of the 19th session of the All-India Oriental Conference, New Delhi, December 27, 1957.

read in books of cultures in different countries, cultures which have left their imprints on the lives of those people but cultures which did not exist in the form and in the way in which our culture has subsisted and continued for centuries. Since the days of the mythological Bhagirath the Ganga has flown through the plains of India; it has gone on. There have been years when it was shrunk, years when it was overflowing, but it has gone on receiving tributes from tributaries coming from all directions and adding not only to its volume of water but also to the fertility and the richness of that water. Our culture has grown like Ganga since time immemorial, receiving tributes from various countries and various peoples in its long course, now shrinking, now being subdued, but ever rising and ever continuing its even flow. That is a matter on which we could congratulate ourselves, but that is a matter which requires also deep study by those who are in a position to interpret and make a critical examination of it, and who are in a position not only to reconstruct the past which is forgotten in many respects but also enable that past to be useful to the present and shape our future. We shall be wise if we begin to draw upon that past which has continued for centuries and at the same time to build on the present for the future.

That is the task before India today. In the past India has carried on this work not only within its own confines, but as modern research and modern studies have proved, the extent and bounds of India have gone on increasing as knowledge has expanded,—from the West to the East and to the North, in whichever direction we go, from Mongolia and Turkistan to Egypt and China, to Japan, to Indonesia, to Siam, to Ceylon and Burma, all these big areas and regions bear the imprints of Indian culture. When I think of this Greater India, I am reminded of a saying by Professor Sealey who wrote about the expansion of England in connection with the British Empire. He said:—

“Little do we know of England
Whom only England knows.”

We can say about ourselves:—

“Little do we know of India
Whom only India knows.”

What Sealey was thinking of was one kind of India; and the Greater India that we think of is of a different kind. It is of a kind which has lasted all these centuries. The Empire that Sealey was thinking of has, to the extent that it differed, so far ceased to exist, but I believe that the imprints which it

has left behind of its culture, its literature and its democratic form of government, all these that England has left behind in India, will last and will help us in the future; just as in the same way what India left behind in other countries has lasted and has helped to form the present in those countries. This is a work which our scholars have to complete. We know that even in the history of our own country, there are gaps which are still unexplored and which await the scholarship and devotion of scholars.

But may I say one thing—the history that we read in our schools and colleges is of one kind; that is because that is the meaning that is attached to history now. We read of kings and their conquests, of invaders and their tyranny. Much time is devoted even by scholars to the fixing of the date of a particular person, of the year in which he was born, of the year in which he died, of the battles which he fought, the victories which he won, the defeats which he suffered, and of so many other things in the lives of rulers and kings. The kind of attention and the amount of attention which should be given to the life of the people is not ordinarily given and the conception of history of today is a collection or chronology of dates and of events. Those are good in their own way. I do not wish to minimise them, but I believe that the more lasting thing for the good of humanity is not the knowledge of the date on which a particular conqueror was born but of the good things which anyone did, whether it was a conqueror or an ordinary person in the street, of the lessons which we can learn from the lives of good and great men, of the lessons which we can impart to the present and to the future from the lives of good and great men of all countries and all nations.

Our ancestors looked upon history somewhat in that way and that is why we now complain and accuse them of ignorance of history and of their disregard of what we call history. In fact they disregarded these things to such an extent that it is impossible even to fix the date of some of the authors' great works or to fix the dates of some of the great works themselves when they were written, and volumes have been written in trying to fix the dates. I wonder if it matters much for humanity whether a book was written in a particular year or 500 years earlier or 500 years later. If the thing is good, it is good. What it contains is good for humanity even if it is written today. If it is bad, it is not good even if it was written 5,000 years ago. Taking that view of history, I believe there is a great deal to be learnt even from our books and from our writings, although we do not have many biographies—we do not have, as I have

said, even the names of the authors of some of the greatest works.

I, therefore, feel that while giving due attention to dates, to chronology and such like things, more attention should be paid to the study of the lessons which we can derive from the past and this is necessary because in the present age we see many things topsyturvy. With the advancement of science and technology, we find that we are not in a position to keep pace with them so far as the human spirit and human experience is concerned. All that has to be brought together and I believe it is one of the functions of history to put these things in the right place, to emphasize the lessons which we can derive from the past so that even in this age of hydrogen and atom bombs, we can put things in their right place and humanity will learn not so much of conquests or wars or dynasties, but the good things that people did, not the weapons of destruction which can be manufactured, but the things which can make life happier and better for every individual irrespective of his nationality, country, religion or birth. That is the task that lies before us. Considering the number of subjects and the methods of studying them and considering that yours is a fraternity not confined to one country but to many countries, you are in a position to fulfil the task which I have just indicated.

For the last 150 years or more, European scholars have been devoting themselves to the study of the past of India, Egypt, Syria and also of other countries which do not fall within their Continent, and in a way they have not only revived the study of these things, they have not only been pioneers, but they are continuing and carrying on the work in the same field. We are grateful to them. But there are certain things which strike one as somewhat curious. For example, I do not know why we in India should call it an Oriental Conference although it was a very good name given by those who founded it, but it has no meaning so far as we are concerned any more than the Middle East is Middle East so far as we are concerned; I have just mentioned this because in considering all these things, we have to take a more realistic view of what is and what should be, and I only beg you to excuse me if I have gone out of my way to say something which perhaps may not be liked by historians who attach so much value to names, dates and things of that sort.

Ladies and gentlemen—I have strayed into fields where I had no right to go, but for that I do not blame myself. I would request that in pursuit of knowledge, you will remember that

you owe a duty not only to the past but also to the present and to the future and that duty is to interpret the past in such a way, to present it to the present in such a way that the present can derive good things and things of great value. Every student who studies in a medical college is required to study skeletons, not only to study skeletons but he is required to dissect bodies so that he may understand the living body better ; and you have to study the past with the same interest and with the same object so that you may be able to help the present, understand it better and make it better.

I thank you once again for the honour which you have done me and I beg to inaugurate this Conference.

YOUTH AND THE IDEAL OF WORLD PEACE.*

I am very glad to be here today in your midst for the inauguration of this Session of the National Convention of the United Nations Students Association of India. This Association shares with the great world organisation, which has sponsored it, its laudable aims to assist in the maintenance of world peace by upholding and propagating the aims of the United Nations and to provide a representative students body actively interested in world co-operation. In the midst of different ideologies and divergencies of views on various subjects, the one thing which all the countries of the world have in common is the desire to maintain peace in the world. That is also the principal aim of the United Nations as incorporated in its Charter. It is with the object of achieving this ideal that the United Nations has had to bolster up activities which may encourage international co-operation among people belonging to various age-groups and coming from different walks of life. I am inclined to believe that the idea of providing representative students bodies in various countries is likely to prove very effective in interesting the coming generation in working for peace through world co-operation.

The United Nations Students Association of India, I am glad to know, has been successful in providing to our youth a forum to discuss national and international problems on various levels—local, regional, national and international. It has sought to organise students and to further the cause of world peace by sponsoring youth leadership training camps in which student leaders get the requisite training in youth organisation, in promoting the dissemination of knowledge and in encouraging the feeling of world brotherhood and fellowship. I feel that like UNESCO and other specialised agencies of the United Nations, the United Nations Students Association has great potentialities in commending the aims and ideals of the United Nations to the peoples of various countries.

I need hardly tell you that the great advance which the world has made lately in extending the frontiers of human knowledge and harnessing the forces of Nature, has posed new problems for mankind. Disputes and wars among nations present a serious challenge to humanity and the United Nations and threaten to lead the world to disaster. It is all right to say that

*Speech made at the inauguration of the National Convention of the United Nations Students Association of India in the Delhi University Campus on January 3, 1958.

wars have been waged in all parts of the world since the dawn of history; but it must not be forgotten that the times in which we are living are altogether unprecedented in the sense that never before had the world known such destructive weapons as human ingenuity has invented today. A future war in which such weapons are used may well mean the destruction of the human race itself. It is, therefore, imperative that every individual should appreciate the real significance of the United Nations and the meaning which it has for everyone of us. Your Association which represents the student community of this country and similar Associations operating in other countries have a large part to play in educating the youth of the world in the dangers that lie ahead and the imperative need of avoiding them by fostering the ideals of peace, mutual goodwill and fellow-feeling among the peoples of all nations. Students whose minds are in a formative stage and who are, therefore, more receptive than experienced administrators or seasoned politicians, can do a lot in spreading the ideals of world peace and international co-operation. With this advantage, I believe, they can appreciate better and sooner the inexorable logic and the inevitability of the idea of one world. If young people imbibe these ideas in their student days we may hope that when it comes to be their turn to lead the world, it will become a happier and saner world without many of the acerbities, distrusts and misunderstandings of the present day and ready for establishing peace and goodwill to all.

Let me hope Indian students who will find much in the past history and traditions of their country to support these ideals of peace, will make this association a living organisation. They should aim at becoming the vanguard of the forces making for goodwill and international amity. I wish you all the best of luck and hope that the United Nations Association of India will become a popular youth movement in this country.

I have great pleasure now to declare this Convention open.

ROADS—BASIS OF ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.*

It gives me great pleasure to be here today to inaugurate the Session of the Indian Roads Congress. I welcomed this opportunity to associate myself with this function, because though I have been a patron of the Indian Roads Congress for

*Speech made at the inauguration of the Indian Roads Congress at New Delhi on January 5, 1958.

some years this is the first time that I could acquaint myself with its work and its future programme. In a vast country like India which is known for its long distances and for the variety of its terrain and the mode of transport, roads constitute one of the most important means of communications. At the present time we have a network of railway system and a vast developing airways, yet all this advance in the manner and speed of transport has not detracted a whit from the important place which roads occupy in our system of communications. In actual fact far from having an adverse effect on the role of the roads, the present-day developments have tended to make it more and more necessary to improve surface transport of which road forms such a significant part.

During the last ten years or so when we have been busy implementing our reconstruction programme, the improvement of old roads and the laying of new roads have attracted a good deal of attention. We have now centralised most of the important roads as national highways. Their maintenance and upkeep are directly the concern of the Union Government. The national highways generally connect the various States with one another and are therefore of great strategic importance. They fully deserve the attention which the Government and the Indian Roads Congress are devoting to them. I am glad this Congress as also the Union and State Governments have not overlooked the fact that the feeder roads connecting the various districts and the countryside with the national highways are of no less importance. Actually the development of these roads bringing the far-flung villages and even the remotely situated hamlets within the network of our communications system is so imperative that without accomplishing it our plans of economic development would ever remain infructuous. If our road system has to supplement the railway system and other means of communications, it must look for coverage in fields which it has not been possible for our Railways to cover. It is clear that that field belongs to our rural areas which have for centuries maintained a remote existence, cut off from the stream of our national life because of the inadequacy of communications. What are known as backward areas or tribal belts existing in various States, have remained so far backward primarily because the absence of roads or any dependable links of communication with other areas segregated them, throwing them on their own resources and imposing upon them an atmosphere of remoteness. I, therefore, consider the existence of good roads as a vital factor in determining whether a society leads a corporate existence with its various links inter-dependent on

one another or it leaves merely as a conglomeration of social groups leading their own separate lives and maintaining different levels of social and economic development. This social or cultural aspect of roads is not in any way less important than the economic aspect. After all it is not human beings alone who travel by roads. It is not goods or commodities of various kinds alone which are transported through roads. The traffic of ideas also takes place through social intermingling which is made possible through roads. This last aspect of roads is in my opinion of fundamental importance, particularly for a country like ours which is populated by communities and groups belonging to varying levels of economic and social development.

When we have recognised these facts, nothing much need be said about the role of roads in a nation's life. Our nation is inspired by the ideal of equal opportunities for all and of speedier development of the backward areas so that they catch up with the more developed areas. This is a problem for the solution of which the development of our road system is very essential. I, therefore, attach great importance to the work of the Indian Roads Congress. Though this work belongs to the science of engineering and has to be executed by engineers, I have always looked upon it as having tremendous bearing on our economic development, our social awakening and our political advance. You can legitimately feel proud of the great potentialities of your work and work in that spirit for the improvement of the roads that we have and the providing of roads where none at present exists.

In the modern age road making, particularly the construction of bridges, is a technical undertaking, and it is developed as an independent branch of engineering. With researches in the field of science and the advance in our knowledge, the technique of road-building has also undergone great many changes. Modern engineers are called upon to construct roads which may be able to stand the inclemencies of weather, the none too infrequent vagaries of Nature and the great strain which traffic might put upon them. For evolving suitable techniques to meet these requirements a co-ordinated study of road problems and persistent research in the materials used for constructing them are necessary. It is in this respect that your Congress has done yeoman service by advising the Government on technical matters. Functioning as it does through various technical committees, the Indian Roads Congress has successfully evolved standard specifications in respect of various items of road work and new techniques and methods involved in

constructing roads. You have rightly laid emphasis on guiding and co-ordinating research in road and bridge engineering. What has, however, particularly interested me is your study of the problem of low cost roads in India, because our resources are limited and even so there are too many claims on them. No road programme which does not eliminate wastage and ensure the most economical use of the material can be practical for our country. I am very happy to know that you have not only kept this point in view but have been conducting field experiments for the achievement of this objective.

I congratulate the Indian Roads Congress on its success in evolving highly useful and practical methods which have proved of considerable utility to the State Governments in carrying out their road-building programmes. I hope you will continue this useful work and achieve still greater success in your efforts for equipping India with a road system in keeping with our planning and suited to our economic development.

I wish the Indian Roads Congress and all those connected with it the best of luck, and have great pleasure in inaugurating this Session of the Congress.

WELCOME TO INDONESIAN PRESIDENT.*

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

It gives me great pleasure to welcome tonight in our midst His Excellency Dr. Soekarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia. I recollect with great pleasure Your Excellency's visit in 1950 on the occasion of the inauguration of our Republic, and a personal link was then established between Your Excellency and many of us here in this country. I have no doubt that the present visit will make it stronger.

We were sorry to hear of Your Excellency's ill health. We hope and pray that this tour of the Asian countries will restore you to normal health. We are indeed grateful that you have been pleased to include India in your itinerary. We wish it were possible for Your Excellency to stay longer in this country. Let us hope, however, that Your Excellency will find it convenient to visit India again and give us the pleasure of a longer stay.

We in this country felt so sorry to know of an attempt on your life, but the news that you were safe and unhurt gave us

*Speech at the Banquet given in honour of President Soekarno of Indonesia at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, on January 7, 1958.

immense relief. May I take this opportunity to felicitate Your Excellency on this providential escape and offer you our best wishes for a happy and long life.

The cultural relationship between Indonesia and this country is of very long standing. Within recent times friendly relations have been established to the mutual benefit of both. In several respects our problems are similar and the noble enterprise of building up a new and prosperous country is common to both. We are both equally anxious for the maintenance of peace, so that we may grow and develop unhampered in our own spheres and in our own way. Naturally there is sympathy and appreciation in both countries of each other's position and difficulties, and we can only hope that the ties of friendship which bind the two countries will grow stronger and stronger as time passes.

Once again I welcome Your Excellency and thank you for your visit to India. On behalf of the Government and the people of India and on my own behalf I offer you and the people of Indonesia our best wishes.

IN PRAISE OF PEACE AND GOODWILL.*

I am very happy that like last year I have been able to come here to participate in the Friendship Day organised by the Anuvrat Sangh. When one thinks of this function one wonders as to why things should be so bad as to make it necessary for any one to lay emphasis on so simple and natural a sentiment as that of friendship. Unfortunately we cannot run away from the bitter truth that the world situation and the condition of human society are such that to raise the slogan of friendship between Nations has become not only necessary but inevitable. It is a saddening thought that though during the last few centuries humanity has made considerable progress materially on account of the progress of Science, our spiritual progress has not been able to keep pace with our worldly prosperity. We could even say that spiritual values have lately suffered woeful neglect.

On account of the progress of Science and the coming of new inventions man has brought the forces of nature under his control to such an extent that he has come to have highly destructive weapons within his reach. The immediate cause for

*Inaugural speech at the "Friendship Day" at New Delhi on January 11, 1958.

concern springs from this fact. If the present state of tension among Nations continues and abiding peace is not established in the world, future wars will be so destructive as to endanger the very existence of human race and modern civilisation.

This is the reason why thinking people the world over are stressing the importance of spiritual values so that side by side with material progress man might also try to give its rightful place to spiritual values in his day to day life and in international behaviour. It is with this object that the Friendship Day has been convened under the auspices of the Anuvrat Sangh. This organisation has been doing commendable work in this direction for some years under the leadership of Acharya Tulsi Ji. I would like to congratulate Acharya Tulsi Ji and other leaders and members of the Sangh on their move. The Anuvrat Sangh has been inspired by the teachings of Lord Mahavir and other Saints and Seers. It should not, therefore, be difficult for us to understand and follow the ideals which are so much in keeping with our cultural traditions.

It is gratifying to know that many people in foreign countries appreciate this ideology. It is universally recognised that our greatest need today is the establishment of peace in the world. This object can be achieved only if every individual, irrespective of his nationality, faith and leanings, imbibes the spirit of friendship and acts up to it in his daily life. It must also be admitted that irrespective of his or her station in life every individual can contribute something towards the achievement of this high ideal. We are all members of the human society and without for a moment bothering about the attitude of others each one of us should seek to raise the level of his social behaviour. In this lies the good of the individual and the society.

I welcome the celebration of the Friendship Day. Let me hope that this endeavour emanating as it does from the goodwill of individuals will find a broader base and, focussing attention on friendship and fellow-feeling, will prove to be a force for the good of the human race. I would not like to say much on this occasion, because this matter concerns faith and actual practice in life much more than mere discussions.

I wish this function all success and pray that goodwill and fellow-feeling may pervade all sections of the human society and peace be firmly established in the world.

ASIAN THEATRE INSTITUTE.*

I welcome the idea of establishing an Asian Theatre Institute for the promotion of the theatre movement in Asia in general and in India in particular. It has therefore pleased me to be here this evening for inaugurating the Asian Theatre Institute.

Every single step that we take for bringing the various countries and the various elements in India in particular together is obviously a move in the right direction. Apart from the somewhat controversial department of life, viz., Politics which has received a great deal of emphasis, there are so many other spheres in which there is little scope for difference of opinion or disputes of any kind. Among such activities matters of cultural importance are pre-eminent. Co-operation in cultural spheres is therefore easy to enlist not only within the country but also with other countries, and I believe, still easier to operate to the advantage of every constituent member. That the United Nations should have interested itself in so many cultural and educational activities through its specialised agencies, has appealed to me as one of the most welcome features of this world organisation.

Over a year ago when UNESCO held its general Conference in this country, we had occasion to acquaint ourselves with its organisation and its varied interests. I am glad that it is again UNESCO with whose assistance the Asian Theatre Institute is being established in India. Let me hope these auspices will prove advantageous to the Institute at the initial stage and also in the long run.

About the importance of drama and theatre in life as a handy and popular medium of emotional expression, I need not say much. Every human society, as far as I know, has progressed from one stage of intellectual development to another through social institutions like the community drama. From the earliest times when reading and writing were either unknown or not so much in vogue up to the present day, the drama or theatre in various forms has retained its appeal for human mind. This appeal, in fact, cuts across the divisions of our society into advanced, less advanced and backward sections. The old tribes which have for some reasons remained more or less unaffected by the current of modern ideas, are as much,

*Speech made at the inauguration of the Asian Theatre Institute (Constantia) New Delhi on January 20, 1958.

if not more, devoted to community drama and group plays as those who look upon themselves as advanced people. Herein, therefore, lies a valuable link between all classes of society at varying stages of development. This common link can be developed into a potent medium of bringing all the classes together closer to one another. There are few things which can pave the way for the emotional integration of human society as effectively as this step. The importance of the establishment of the Asian Theatre Institute is therefore self-evident. Children's theatre has an importance of its own and needs special attention which it is proposed to give to it.

I wish the Asian Theatre Institute good luck and hope that while preserving the best in the form, tradition and practice of Indian theatre, it will be able to imbibe and assimilate the best in the traditions and art of other countries and to channelise the present and future theatre activity in India and also in other Asian countries into a healthy and progressive current fertilising and enriching life everywhere.

With these words I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Asian Theatre Institute.

MEETING POINT OF INDIA'S LANGUAGES.*

This is the third annual Symposium of this nature organised by the All-India Radio in connection with the Republic Day Celebrations here. The notice which the earlier Symposiums attracted and their widespread appreciation have, I believe, justified the step taken by the All-India Radio. Unilingual symposiums in Hindi and other Indian languages have been broadcast for the last several years; but a combined symposium of all the Indian languages recognised in our Constitution is a new venture which deserves to be encouraged and popularised.

The various Indian languages have developed according to their peculiar genius and as a reaction to local conditions and popular requirements. The source of inspiration of these languages has been common, namely, the Indian thought embodied in the Vedic and post-Vedic literature. There is no Indian language that I know of which did not begin at the evolutionary stage with a translation of our two great Epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Similarly other Sanskrit works, religious and secular, found a place and I should say are still popular

*Speech made at the National Symposium held at Broadcasting House, New Delhi on January 25, 1958.

with most of our languages. Apart from giving ideas and inspiration, Sanskrit has also provided the major part of the actual content in the form of vocabulary for these languages. These two points which are common to all these tongues have had such an abiding influence on them that in spite of divergences of script and locale there is a good deal of affinity binding all of them together. Another factor which has made for bringing these languages closer is the uniform varnamala, the arrangement of vowels and consonants, though the scripts are different.

Apart from the great influence of Sanskrit, Persian and Turkish languages have also left their imprint on our languages, and during the British rule Western thought and the English language influenced them. These common influences were also responsible to some extent for impregnating these languages with an element of uniformity. Just as Sanskrit cast on them its spell in ancient times and later, during middle ages and in modern times, Persian, Turkish and English languages influenced them considerably.

Having their separate spheres of influence, all these languages have been guaranteed full freedom of growth, use and enrichment, so that there is no question of any one of them dominating the others. Yet, I trust it will do us a lot of good and also enrich all the languages considerably if the process of give and take among them can be encouraged and, as far as possible, accelerated. This can be done best by laying emphasis on their similarities, their common source of inspiration and the common part of the vocabulary.

A symposium like this is one of the best media one can think of for achieving the above-mentioned object. The main reason is that ideas in poetic form make a deeper impression on the human mind than ideas conveyed in prose. This Symposium is going to provide the meeting ground for poetry in different languages. As you have also provided for the translation of poems in various languages into Hindi, I think that would enhance the utility of such an undertaking, for I believe that those who speak and cultivate Hindi as their mother-tongue have great need to appraise themselves of the literary genius and poetic excellence available in other languages.

I would not like to say more on this occasion. It would hardly be proper to inflict on you a speech in prose when you are all waiting to hear good poetry. I wish this Symposium success and have now great pleasure in inaugurating it.

IMPLEMENTING PLAN WITH REDOUBLED EFFORT.*

On this day, the Eighth Anniversary of our Republic, I send my greetings to all my countrymen. Today we have completed eight years of our existence as a Sovereign Republic and are entering the ninth year with renewed hope and enthusiasm. A day of national rejoicing as it is, every one of us should observe it in a spirit of happiness and good cheer. At the same time it is a day of dedication when every Indian citizen should take the pledge of service of the nation and renew his resolve to contribute his or her mite to the building up of the India of our dreams. It is on such occasions when the passing out and the incoming years meet that one is apt to review the happenings of the year which is ending and welcome in a spirit of hope and preparedness the year which is to begin. These two processes are in a way interdependent and indissolubly linked with each other.

As all of you know, the principle feature of our life these ten years has been a collective endeavour on a nation-wide scale to reconstruct our economy, to improve our social conditions and to enrich our cultural life. Though for better living progress in all these directions is essential, it is economic development which has claimed first priority. Eradication of poverty, the spread of education so that ignorance and illiteracy are liquidated and the provision of minimum civic amenities and domestic comforts—all these call for material resources without which the urge to progress may get blunted and popular enthusiasm chilled. Therefore, those responsible for shaping our policies have given due place to the development of the nation's material resources in our programmes. For the achievement of this object and in order to raise the level of India's prosperity we have resorted to modern planning. The successful implementation of the First Five-Year Plan and the results achieved therefrom have been a source of encouragement to us. Nearly in all spheres we were not only able to reach the targets but in some cases actual production even exceeded them. With redoubled confidence and vigour we launched the Second Five-Year Plan last year. As is perhaps inherent in the phase of development through which we are now passing, we have come up against difficulties here and there. These difficulties, far from discouraging us should be, and actually have been, a force prodding us to still greater effort. I am glad to say that in

*Broadcast to the nation on the eve of the Republic Day, 1958.

face of the difficulty caused by the gap in the required outlay and the available resources the whole nation has responded to the Government's call to co-operate with official measures. We are determined to find a way out, and God willing, we shall succeed in implementing the Plan.

Let me also refer on this occasion to scarcity conditions prevailing in certain areas affected by drought and subsequent failure of crops. Though we know that in our agriculture chance plays a big part and that natural calamities which can affect adversely the outcome of the cultivator's efforts are not always unexpected, yet I am not inclined to gloss over the grave food situation in the country. The very idea of having to import large quantities of foodgrains from foreign countries piques us and gives a setback to our Planning as a whole, besides putting a terrible strain on our foreign exchange resources. Self-sufficiency in food is our basic requirement without achieving which our projects in other spheres can hardly carry conviction with the common man. It is a task to which every Indian must address himself. Those employed in agriculture must do their utmost to get the maximum yield from land. I believe that agricultural production can be greatly enhanced if we diligently and intelligently apply ourselves to it, because our land is fertile and steps are being taken to provide facilities for irrigation, improved seeds and manures. If our farmers make proper use of these facilities and use their inherited experience and intelligence, the shortage of food can easily be removed. Those who follow other avocations have to observe austerity in the use of foodgrains changing their food habits where necessary, so that the needs of the various regions in India can be met and properly adjusted. Our target should be to build up sufficient reserves of foodgrains so that we can meet all situations and in case of failure of crops for one reason or another we may be able to do without importing grains from other countries.

In the face of difficulties and hardships we have been able to make progress in other notable spheres. It is indeed gratifying that we were able to hold the second general elections, sending again the world's largest electorate to the polls. The manner in which these elections were held and the way in which administrative machinery at the Centre and in the States has been functioning in the country, should gladden the hearts of all those interested in the progress of democracy in the world. Whatever one might think of India as a whole or of any one of our problems, the one thing which is beyond the pale of doubt is the fact that we are pledged to follow the democratic way of

life and nothing can deflect us from our resolve to follow this path we have chosen for ourselves. We are determined to give effect to our decision to reconstruct our society and that in a way not incompatible with the liberty and dignity of the individual. The good of the community as a whole is no doubt a supreme consideration, but the individual forming an integral part of the community is guaranteed certain fundamental rights upheld by our Constitution and sanctified by our age-old traditions.

I want to appeal to my fellow-countrymen to keep abreast of the developments in the world and the great need of their adjusting themselves to them. The world today is witnessing great events in the realm of Science and other spheres of knowledge.

Vast vistas are opening up and knowledge and resources being placed in the hands of man which can add infinitely to his material prosperity all the world over, if only man knows how to utilise them in the proper way for the benefit of all and not of any limited sections of humanity. Herein comes the necessity of understanding and accepting those moral and spiritual values which alone can conquer distrust, selfishness and fear and let in an era of peace.

No one who fails to respond to these developments with an open mind and in a scientific spirit can hope to play his part for the good of society at large and to his own advantage. Let us therefore pause and coming out of old ruts and grooves think of the great developments that are taking place in the wider world. These developments will inevitably result in bringing the various countries together and broadening human outlook on pain of total extinction in case of maladjustment with the latest scientific discoveries. We hope, and to the best of our capacity we are also striving for the establishment of peace in the world so that all of these achievements could be used to humanity's advantage towards constructive ends. In fact this desire on our part has been the main feature of our foreign policy. We stand for peace and non-aggression—objects which we believe can be achieved through the principle of co-existence.

Once again I wish you all the best of luck and pray that the coming year may bring you greater happiness and prosperity and that each one of you may be able to contribute more to the well-being of India as a whole.

GREETINGS TO INDIANS IN OTHER LANDS.*

On the occasion of the Eighth Anniversary of our Republic I send my greetings and best wishes to Indian nationals in foreign countries. The Republic Day has come to occupy a prominent place in our national calendar and the list of festivals. Naturally on this day our thoughts go to those of us who are not in our midst and who are in foreign lands. I, therefore, welcome this opportunity of saying a few words to them and sharing with them the thoughts occasioned by this happy day.

I am sure you all know of the Indian people's determination to reconstruct their economy and to carry on the work of development unhampered by difficulties or setbacks of any kind. Difficulties do not ruffle us because they are inherent in the very nature and magnitude of the undertaking; nor do temporary setbacks upset us because we are confident of our potential resources and the capacity of our people. The most important factors in this noble enterprise of building up a nation that we have undertaken are the will of our people to reconstruct, their wilful efforts and their co-operation to accomplish the task set forth in our Five-Year Plans. To achieve this end we have to strain ourselves to the utmost and we know our efforts will bear fruit and we shall succeed in building up a new India.

As to the means we propose to employ to achieve this it is enough to say that we are wedded to the principles of democracy. We believe that before law all are equal and that equality of opportunity should be guaranteed to all irrespective of any distinctions of class, region or faith. We have made a start in this direction and would strive to the best of our capacity to bring backward sections of the society into line with the more advanced sections. Our ideal is to create an equalitarian homogenous society, with as little interference with individual or personal freedom as possible.

It is indeed a hard task and in trying to accomplish it we cannot afford to be complacent. All we could say is that the foundations of a secular democracy have been laid. We have already held two general elections according to the constitutional provisions. It is for the younger generation now to imbibe the spirit our Constitution breathes and to come forward to shoulder the great task of nation-building which awaits them. I am confident that the youth of India will respond to this call.

Once again I greet you all on this auspicious day and wish you the best of luck and happiness.

*Message to Indian Nationals abroad broadcast on the eve of the Republic Day, 1958.

WELCOME TO DR. HO CHI MINH.*

It gives me great pleasure to welcome Your Excellency on your first visit to this country. We all welcome you as a great fighter for freedom, as a popular leader and as the Head of a friendly State, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. India has been interested in the liberation of countries which were dominated by foreign powers against the will of the people. After attaining our own freedom, our interest took the form of active sympathy, though admittedly we had our limitations.

We are all so happy to see Your Excellency in our midst. On behalf of the Government and the people of India and on my own behalf I extend a cordial welcome to you. I hope that Your Excellency's sojourn in this country will be enjoyable and fruitful and will provide Your Excellency an opportunity to see whatever we have been able to do so far to achieve our ideal of establishing a Welfare State in this country.

COMMON IDEAL OF CONSOLIDATING PEACE.*

I rise tonight to welcome in our midst His Excellency Dr. Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. We are very glad that His Excellency found it possible to visit this country in response to our invitation. In him we welcome a distinguished leader of men and a great fighter for freedom.

India is a young Republic; we celebrated the Eighth anniversary of our Republic only two weeks ago. Having remained under foreign domination for long years we know what a boon political emancipation is, and as such our sympathies have always been on the side of the countries struggling for freedom from foreign rule. We have followed with great interest and sympathy post-war events in Viet Nam, which culminated in the Armistice Agreement at the Geneva Conference in 1954.

India is an ancient country whose past goes beyond the dawn of history, stretching into the period known as pre-historic era. Many centuries ago we had close ties, cultural, social and religious, with many countries in South-East Asia, including Viet-Nam. It gives us great pleasure to recollect those times

*Speech welcoming H. E. Dr. Ho-Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam at Palam Airport on February 5, 1958.

*Speech at the State Banquet given in honour of H. E. Dr. Ho-Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, on February 6, 1958.

when our two countries were bound by close ties of friendship; more so because we are looking forward to project the friendly relations of the past into the future so that our common ideals and the desire for economic reconstruction at home and the consolidation of peace in the world forge new links for us, making the friendly ties already subsisting between our peoples still stronger.

Like Viet-Nam, India is also a predominantly agricultural country. Since the transfer of power into our hands we have been busy with planning in order to develop our material resources. We are in the midst of a varied programme of development which includes the establishment of heavy industries, implementation of big and small hydro-electric projects, improving our agriculture and putting the village industries and arts and crafts on a modern and a better footing. I hope during your stay in this country Your Excellency will be able to see at least a few of these projects.

Once again I extend a hearty welcome to Your Excellency on behalf of the people and the Government of India and hope that Your Excellency's sojourn in this country will be enjoyable and that it will bring still closer in fruitful collaboration the peoples of India and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

PROGRESS IN SPITE OF STRESSES.*

Members of Parliament,—

I am happy to welcome you once again to your labours in a new session of Parliament.

2. We are about to complete the second year of our Second Five Year Plan. Our economy, as you are well aware, has been under considerable stress since the beginning of the Second Plan period. In my address to you last May, I said that—

“It would be the easier, but not the gainful or constructive way, to bridge the gaps to which I have referred, by halting development. This will, however, provide no real or long-term remedy. Our endeavour has to be to mobilise and conserve resources for greater productivity and for maintaining and improving development. My Government are fully aware of the problem and of the effort required. They are equally concerned that our temporary difficulties should not lead us in the direction of retarding progress and development, but that the difficulties should be overcome,

*Address to Parliament on February 10, 1958.

where necessary, by reconsideration and revision of methods and by planned mobilisation of resources, and not by either the abandonment or slowing down of the progress towards our objectives."

3. My Government have taken, in many spheres of our economic and social life, steps that are very stringent to enable our economy and our planned development to absorb the shock of these stresses, thereby controlling to a great extent inflationary factors and meeting the situations resulting from the position in regard to foreign exchange resources and for the completion of the tasks under the Plan. The measures my Government have taken in this regard have yielded results and in recent months, I am happy to say, there has been some improvement. The measures adopted by my Government to restrict imports and to earn more foreign exchange have resulted recently in some diminution in the rate at which our foreign assets were falling. My Government have also endeavoured and succeeded in some measure in obtaining foreign assets by way of loans, arrangements in regard to specific projects, deferred payments for essential capital goods and severe limitation of allocation of foreign exchange to all but the most essential capital or consumption requirements. I should like to express my gratitude to the countries from whom we have received assistance in this respect. In this connection I would like to mention the Soviet Union, Canada, Germany, Japan and, more particularly, the United States of America.

4. Increased production, which would both help to reduce foreign exchange requirements and also help to earn it, and domestic savings, which help to check inflation and provide the internal resources required for the fulfilment of our plan tasks, are, however, imperative. These call for both understanding of problems and sacrifices from our people, for vigilance, economies and the support of public opinion.

5. The series of measures taken by my Government in regard to fiscal and foreign exchange matters have assisted in maintaining the stability of our economy. Prices which had been rising in 1956 and the early part of 1957, have not only remained steady, but registered a slight fall towards the end of last year, which is continuing. There has also been an appreciable decline in our Balance of Payments deficit. The credit position is considerably easier than it was last year. The resources of the banking system have improved and the increase in their advances has been moderate. The Reserve Bank proposes to watch the situation carefully with a view to keeping down any speculative tendencies.

6. The availability and price of foodgrains very largely govern our internal price levels and our external payment position. The damage to crops as a result of drought in certain parts of the country has been a very disquieting feature. My Government have at their disposal reserves of food which would be maintained at adequate levels by further imports; and have also imposed a degree of limited but essential controls on the movement of foodgrains. My Government have also regulated the supply of bank credit for foodgrains to prevent hoarding and arranged for distribution of large quantities of foodgrains from Government stocks through Fair Price Shops. These measures have appreciably helped to restrain the upward trend in prices.

7. In 1956-57, even though the harvest was not good, the production of foodgrains almost touched the peak level reached in 1953-54. It was 68.7 million tons which was more than 5 per cent. higher than the figure for 1955-56. The all India index of agricultural production showed an increase of about 6 per cent. over the previous year. The production of commercial crops also recorded a significant increase. This was 18 per cent. in regard to cotton, 13 per cent. for sugarcane and 6 per cent. for oil seeds. All possible efforts are being made to increase food production at a higher rate than hitherto. It is essential that self-sufficiency in food should be attained.

8. Industrial production has maintained steady improvement. One wholesome result of the severe restrictions in imports, necessitated by the paucity of foreign exchange, is greater employment of domestic resources and skills and their development. Progress in this direction, which it is the aim of my Government to encourage and promote, both in regard to Government requirements and industry generally, is essential, if productivity and the growth of our economy are not to be retarded. The success of these developments, although brought about by necessity, would have the effect of making our industry less dependent on outside sources.

9. The production of coal during 1957 reached a new limit of 43 million tons as against 39 million tons in 1956. Drilling and prospecting have been almost completed in many important new areas and it is expected that several new collieries will be working within a few months.

10. An agreement has recently been concluded with the Assam Oil Company for the formation of a Rupee Company in which Government will participate to the extent of 33½ per cent. for the production of oil from the Naharkatiya oil fields and for transportation of oil therefrom. Two refineries, one in

Assam and the other in Bihar, are also to be set up. Prospecting and drilling for oil are taking place in other parts of the country also.

11. A non-lapsable Shipping Development Fund, with a view to finding an assured source of rupee finance for the rapid growth of Indian shipping has been established.

12. The multi-purpose river valley projects have made considerable progress. Maithon Dam in the Damodar Valley was inaugurated in September last. In the Bhakra project work is proceeding ahead of schedule. In Nagarjunasagar construction of the dam began in July last. Progress in regard to the other multi-purpose projects has also been generally satisfactory.

13. In the field of heavy industry, much progress has been made. In the public sector, a heavy machine building plant and a number of other projects will be financed out of a special credit offered by the Government of the U.S.S.R. A heavy foundry and forge will be set up with Czechoslovak collaboration. A fertiliser factory at Nangal is being built with the help of credit terms from the United Kingdom, France and Italy. It is proposed to build another fertiliser plant at Neyveli. The heavy electrical plant at Bhopal is being taken in hand with British collaboration. Good progress has been made in the construction of the three major steel plants at Rourekela, Bhilai and Durgapur.

14. The Malaria Control Programme, which was inaugurated in 1953, has made considerable progress and reduced greatly the incidence of malaria. From control, our efforts are now being directed to a complete eradication of malaria. In regard to filaria control also, good progress has been made. Provision has been made for slum clearance and development programmes.

15. Marked progress continues to be made in the field of science and technology, and our National Laboratories are directing their efforts to the solution of scientific problems related to industrial and national development plans. In particular, efforts are being made for the rapid increase of technical manpower.

16. The work of the Department of Atomic Energy has expanded greatly during the last year. Two more reactors and several new plants are under construction. Uranium metal of atomic purity and fuel element for the reactors will be in production before the end of the current year. My Government have under consideration the construction of one or more Atomic Power Stations during the current Five Year Plan period.

17. The State Bank of India, which was nationalised a little more than two and a half years ago, has made considerable progress. Measures are under consideration to integrate more closely with the State Bank of India certain other State associated banks of intermediate size, which will be managed as subsidiaries of the State Bank.

18. The Planning Commission is engaged in working out the annual plans for the States and the Centre and the necessary adjustments in the Plan as a whole, having regard to the available resources and, at the same time, to the imperative consideration of not permitting any impairment to the growth of our economy. My Government will place before you in the current session the results of these studies in regard to what is spoken of as the "Core of the Plan".

19. The Community Development and National Extension Service Projects have made significant progress. There are now 2,152 Blocks which comprise 2,76,000 villages and cover 15 crores of population. The National Development Council having decided that the Block should be the unit for planning and development and the common agency of all development departments, steps have been taken to integrate Departmental Development Budgets in the Block Budget. The Block Development Officer is being placed in operational control of this budget. The Development Council have also decided on greater decentralisation in regard to administration and the transfer of greater authority to people's organisations at the village block and district levels. The pattern of such devolution will be worked out by the States according to local circumstances. A scheme for training village farm leaders has been initiated to encourage the adoption of improved agricultural methods.

20. The recommendations of the Official Language Commission which are being studied by a Committee of 30 Members of Parliament are under examination. Members of Parliament, you will have an early opportunity of discussing this Report and the opinions of your Committee before any directives are issued.

21. Requisite action in pursuance of the Delhi Municipal Corporation Act of 1957 to establish a Corporation in the beginning of the next financial year has been taken.

22. Tripartite Wage Boards have been set up in the textile and sugar industries. My Government have under consideration the setting up of similar wage boards for other major industries in due course. With a view to securing the progressive participation of workers in industrial management, schemes to

this end are being introduced initially in a few selected undertakings. The Employees' State Insurance Scheme is being extended and the Employees' Provident Fund Act of 1952 has been extended now to cover 19 industries. 6,215 factories and establishments are now covered under the Act. The total amount of contributions collected is about 100 crores of rupees.

23. The situation in the Naga Hills area has improved considerably. Government accepted the demands of the leaders of the Naga People's Convention held at Kohima in August 1957 and, as a result, a new unit comprising the Naga Hills and the Tuensang Frontier Division was created by Act of Parliament in November last.

24. Sixty-eight Bills were passed by Parliament during 1957 and eight Bills are pending before you. My Government propose to introduce legislation in the current session in regard to Merchant Shipping and Trade Mark and Merchandise Marks. Certain other amending legislation in regard to various matters will also be submitted to you.

25. A statement of the estimated receipts and the expenditure of the Government of India for the ensuing financial year will be laid before you.

26. Our relations with foreign countries continued to be friendly. Since I addressed Parliament last, we have had the privilege of receiving as guests of the Republic, the Presidents of Indonesia, the Republic of Vietnam, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Vice-President of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council, the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Japan and the United Kingdom, the Foreign Ministers of France and Morocco, the Finance Minister of Ghana, the Education Ministers of Ghana and Mauritius, and cultural delegations from several countries.

27. My Prime Minister attended the meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London at the end of June. He also visited Syria, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Egypt, Sudan, Japan, Burma and Ceylon. The Vice-President was also able to pay goodwill visits to China, Mongolia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Ceylon.

28. The world situation, while it presents no aspects of an immediate crisis, is ominous with the ever present danger of deterioration into conflict which might become world-wide, unless the present deadlocks and world tensions are eased and the way is found for peaceful co-existence of nations, more particularly between the Great Powers.

29. The launching of the earth satellites by the Soviet Union and the United States of America marks an epochal advance by Man in the conquest of Time and Space. They are great scientific advances, but in the context of world tensions and the presence of inter-continental ballistic missiles and other weapons, every such scientific advance can well become another threat to world peace.

30. The efforts towards achieving progress in disarmament stand deadlocked. Any effective solution requires the joint participation of the two Great Powers—the United States of America and the Soviet Union—and their agreement in regard to any solutions. At the last General Assembly of the United Nations, some progress was made in this direction, but the deadlock continues. That General Assembly, however, passed a unanimous resolution on peaceful co-existence which, following as it did the deadlock over disarmament, gives some hope that a fresh approach may still be made.

31. My Government hold the opinion that a meeting at high level of the great States with any others, on whom they might agree, would help to ease tensions, would bring about an atmosphere of peaceful tolerance, as provided in the United Nations Resolution of December 14, 1957, and open the way towards the easing of tensions and some progress in the field of disarmament.

32. My Government have engaged themselves at the United Nations in continued efforts to help to ease tensions and to advance the view that on co-existence and respect of each other alone can solutions be found.

33. India has been elected as a member of the Disarmament Commission. The Commission can, however, meet effectively only if all countries concerned are willing to participate. My Government intend to do their utmost to help to bring about a solution.

34. My Government continue to press in the United Nations and elsewhere for the suspension of nuclear explosions, the dangers of which are becoming more and more the concern of scientists and indeed of peoples all over the world. My Prime Minister made an appeal to the heads of the United States of America and the Soviet Union in regard to suspension of these tests as a first step towards disarmament. My Government will continue their efforts in these fields.

35. The International Supervisory Commissions in Indo-China, of which India is Chairman, have continued to function effectively despite difficulties and peace in that area has been

maintained: A welcome development has been an agreement reached in Laos between the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao leaders and a political settlement there is within sight.

36. My Government have heard with regret and surprise reports that some countries had sought at a recent meeting of the Baghdad Pact to be equipped with atomic weapons. We profoundly believe that none of the Great Powers will give encouragement to these desires and the outlook that persists.

37. For ourselves, my Government desire to make it clear beyond all doubt, that while we could, if we so decided, unwisely, produce atomic weapons, with the resources and skills that we have and can develop, we have no intention whatsoever of acquiring, manufacturing or using such weapons or condoning their use by any State. Our endeavours in the atomic field will remain confined to the peaceful use of atomic energy.

38. Members of Parliament, I wish you success in your labours, and trust that they may help to bring greater prosperity and contentment to our people and peace and co-operation in the world.

WELCOME TO KING OF AFGHANISTAN.*

It is with great pleasure that I welcome His Majesty King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan on his first State visit to our Republic. India is an ancient country with a long history and glorious heritage; and so is Afghanistan. In fact, our two countries share that antiquity and heritage together in a considerable measure. I feel so happy to say that Afghanistan and India have very friendly relations today, and I hope Your Majesty's visit to this country will further strengthen those friendly ties in the interest of our peoples and the furtherance of the cause of peace in the world.

Once again I welcome Your Majesty on behalf of the people and the Government of India and on my own behalf. I am sure Your Majesty's sojourn in this country will be enjoyable and interesting.

*Speech while welcoming the King of Afghanistan at Palam Airport on February 11, 1958.

FRIENDLY INDO-AFGHAN RELATIONS.*

It is with great pleasure that I rise tonight to welcome in our midst His Majesty King Mohd. Zahir Shah of Afghanistan who has been pleased to pay us a visit in response to our invitation. On behalf of everyone here and the people of India I extend to His Majesty a cordial welcome to our country.

The relations between Afghanistan and India are happy and friendly and these bonds of friendship between our two peoples are as old as the mountains. As every student of ancient history knows, there have been close and intimate contacts between the peoples of India and Afghanistan for many centuries. In course of time these contacts bore fruit and the process of mutual give and take that took place on a wide scale in the realm of ideas and culture at that time has left its imprint on our two peoples.

I can say about India that our contacts with Afghanistan enriched many spheres of our culture. The Gandhara school of studies and of art occupies a prominent place in the history of Indian literature and fine arts and upto this day it is recognised as a valuable contribution to Indian thought and culture.

Since our freedom we have been busy building up our country's resources so as to raise our people's standard of living. We have been trying to reorientate our economy with a view to improving our agriculture and village industries and giving a better deal to the village dweller and also with the object of setting up heavy industries and small-scale industries and raising the level of production. I am glad to know that Your Majesty's Government has also launched its first Plan in Afghanistan with more or less similar objects in view, because, like India, Afghanistan is also a predominantly agricultural country. May I say that we wish you the best of luck and hope that the Afghan Government will succeed in reaching the targets outlined in the Plan.

It is gratifying to see that there is much common in the approach of our two countries to world affairs. Both Afghanistan and India are wedded to a policy of peaceful co-existence and non-alignment with Power Blocs. It is our conviction that the development of every country's resources for the good of humanity at large and the maintenance of amity and goodwill among nations claims a priority that must transcend ideological differences.

Once again I welcome Your Majesty to this country and

*Speech at the Banquet given in honour of the King of Afghanistan on February 12, 1958.

express the hope that Your Majesty's visit will further strengthen the friendly ties already subsisting between India and Afghanistan. I am sure Your Majesty's stay in this country will be enjoyable and provide you an opportunity to visit at least a few of our major projects and developmental works.

PROSPERITY NOT COMPATIBLE WITH WAR.*

I am thankful to Your Majesty for your expression of goodwill and friendly consideration towards the people of India and your appreciation of whatever we have been able to do here in the field of economic reconstruction. There is no doubt, as Your Majesty has pointed out, Asian countries have somehow lagged behind in respect of material development and have to make up the leeway. We do not desire to build up our prosperity at the cost of any other country. We wish godspeed to every nation and want to develop our own resources with the help of scientific knowledge and technology.

The countries of Asia have, therefore, great stake in the prevalence of peaceful conditions in the world. Economic development in the interest of the people is not compatible with war. This idea and our aforesaid need have further strengthened our conviction in peace, good-neighbourliness and international amity. Asia, from which has flowed, time and again, the benign light of faith and holiness, is, by nature, inclined towards peace. Let us hope resurgent Asia will make its weight felt and its contribution will prove to be a stabilising factor in the present-day world polity. Who knows that may be the fulfilment of Asia's own mission voiced through the sacred teachings of the Prophets who trampled upon the soil of this continent.

While reciprocating Your Majesty's kind sentiments and good wishes for this country and our people, may I convey on behalf of my Government and people and on my own behalf our sincere good wishes to the people of Afghanistan for their happiness and well-being. Once again I would like to thank Your Majesty for visiting this country in response to our invitation and for the friendly observations you have been pleased to make in your speeches.

*Speech at the Banquet given in his Honour of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan on February 13 1958.

TRAVEL BRINGS KNOWLEDGE AND UNITY.*

Friends,

I am so happy to have this opportunity of meeting you this morning. It has been a practice for some time now, as you have said, for batches of agriculturist and other our village people to go round and see the various things, old and new, in the country. From the report which I have just heard I know that you have already visited many places of interest and that you are going to visit some other places which are of interest in the modern times and some of which are places of pilgrimage. By the time you go back to your homes you will have visited so many places and seen so much of the country that you will be able to form some impression of the vastness and greatness of this country of ours. You will have seen various kinds of differences which exist, but you will have also seen or at least felt the oneness of this country.

We have got our Swaraj and it lies in our hands to make this country great if we are so inclined. But the greatest need of the time is to preserve the great unity of this country and without that unity we may again break up into pieces and be unable to render any service to it. Nothing opens the eyes of anyone in a country as travel itself. Therefore it is necessary that people should go round and see this country, realise its unity and work for its progress. Our ancestors were very wise when they insisted upon pilgrimage to distant places in the country. Now-a-days travel has become very much easier than it used to be in the olden days. But you will, within the short period of your journey, see how difficult it would have been in the past when people used to visit Badrinath. Now-a-days you can reach Badrinarayan by a few days' travel on foot, the rest being covered on trains or on buses. In the olden days it used to take months for people to walk. And they used to visit not only Badrinarayan but they used to visit Rameshwaram in the South, Dwarka in the West and Jagannath in the East; And on the way they used to visit Tirupati and Rangaswami's place. I hope the knowledge which you will gain will enable you to realise the greatness of this country and to help it with all your strength and all your might to gain greater and greater prosperity and happiness.

I thank you all for coming here and I thank the little children for the very beautiful dance they have given to me this morning.

*Address to a party of Kisans from Andhra at Rashtrapati Bhavan on April 28, 1958.

TAX STRUCTURE AND THE TECHNIQUE OF COLLECTING TAXES.*

Friends,

I am very happy to have this opportunity of meeting you all here though for a short time. The work which lies ahead of you is very important and it requires, apart from technical skill, integrity of a very high order. I was telling Mr. Rao that some time ago I had an opportunity of meeting the employees in the sister organisation of Accounts & Audits there in Simla and those young friends who had been already appointed and were now receiving practical training for their work were, more or less, like you all because they were also appointed only a short time before I saw them and you have also not had any long service to your credit yet. The difference that I see between their work and your work is that your work is prior to their work. Their work begins after yours is finished.

First the money has to be obtained, then an account of it has to be kept and later still, expenditure has to be audited. So, you are, more or less, the base on whose foundation the big edifice of our finance is built up. Now you know that this income-tax business is not a very old business, as far as this country is concerned not very old. We know this, that it is a very very growing department, growing because sources of income are growing and also because sources which were not taxed before are being taxed now. So both in depth as well as in width it is a growing department. The higher rates and the wider range both are there and you are the people who have to help the State to raise the revenue which a State needs but at the same time the revenue has to be raised in a way that it does not cripple the sources and while your work requires constant vigilance, it will require also in certain respects stringency and strictness. It will also require sympathetic handling.

You know the difficulty of a man who has to pay. In the first place, you have to see to it that he is not unjustly taxed but at the same time the State is also not deprived of what is due to it. Now it is for you to draw the line between unfair assessment and fair assessment—unfair neither to the State nor to the assessee. That requires skill, as I said, and a great deal of integrity also. I must say that our experience has been that as our income has grown, we have found our officers coming up to the mark and we have not found any ground for any complaint against their conduct in the discharge of their duties which, as I said, are rather unpleasant from many a point of view. You

*Address to Probationers of the Income-tax Officers' Training College, Nagpur, at Pachmarhi on June 15, 1958.

must also realise that this is one of those sources of income which is bound to grow more and more. Take for example, the amount of income-tax from the Agriculturist.

I come from a part of the country where we had, what was called the Permanent Settlement. I think the permanent settlement was made in the time of Lord Cornwallis. It meant that a man had to pay perpetually a certain fixed amount for a village which was settled with him. It was never to be raised and for a long time the idea was that there would be no agricultural income-tax either because once the settlement was made it was a permanent settlement. But as times changed, you have introduced agricultural income-tax. Now we have got agricultural income-tax in most of the States. But, I believe it is still in its infancy and it is bound to grow. I do not know whether it will bring more income but your work will increase because there is a certain demand on the part of some people that instead of charging revenue or rent on land, every agriculturist should require to pay income-tax having the same exemptions which other income-earners have and having, more or less, the same system applied to them. Now, when that becomes as widespread as, for example, land revenue, well, I suppose, your work will become manifold and then, in any case, you will have to look into the accounts of the agriculturist and just find out whether he is liable to assessment or not and if he is, the amount of assessment.

Now, you have been doing that in the case of people who are businessmen, who know how to keep accounts but an agriculturist is, essentially, not an accountant. He does not keep accounts. He knows his fields; he cultivates it, raises a crop on it, sells as much as he requires to sell for his cash purposes and consumes the rest. There is no occasion for him to keep anything like a balance sheet and it is entirely his own business and a business which is carried on very largely by the members of his family. If he is to employ some labourers, well, he gives them a part of the crop, a share, he has. Very often wages are paid in kind, not in cash. So, the question of accounting does not arise in the case of many agriculturists. But, when the income-tax is applied to them well, it will become very difficult to make them keep accounts and still difficult to check those accounts for the assessment of their incomes.

This is just an illustration. Similarly, now there are various kinds of excises which we are having. The Customs Department, the Excise Department and the Income-tax—these are

the three sources of revenue which are, of course, under the Board of Revenue. But for specialisation they have got separate men looking after their departments.

Now that we are spending hundreds of crores, thousands of crores we are going to spend now, a great part of which will have to come from your source, from income-tax source. Your work is very difficult and will become more and more difficult, not necessarily technically difficult, but more widespread and would require intensive work. That is going to be so and we are hoping that the younger people like yourselves who are coming up need not only to maintain old reputation but you will also have to enhance it so that later on those who may come after you follow the traditions which are of very great value.

I mention this because traditions play a great part in all these matters. When the country was divided and we became independent with the partition, well, if we did not have the trained civil service, we would have found ourselves in great difficulty. By Civil Service I do not mean only those in charge of administration—police, military, income-tax department, the various departments apart from the Army, Civil as distinguished from the Defence Forces, if we did not have that well-organised service all over the country, we would have found ourselves in great difficulty. They were of great assistance and we were able to carry on with their help. In a country like France, where the ministry is changed every two months, it is the Civil Service which carries on the administration. Their administration is not any worse than the administration of other countries. It is the Civil Service which maintains the purity of the administration, efficiency of the administration of that country.

Here in this country also we do not know how the future is going to shape, but there is one thing, and it is that the Civil Service of the various departments of the Government have to take more and more responsibility, responsibility not for laying any policy but responsibility for executing policies, for giving actual shape to the policy which is decided by the Government. You will also remember that whatever the policy is you are not concerned with that, but you may sometimes become the target for criticism, but that may be irrelevant criticism, as you are not responsible for laying down the policy. You are only responsible to carry on the policy that is laid down by those in executive effectively and efficiently. As your work increases, your responsibility also will increase. I would expect you to have wide sympathies so that you can serve the Government as well as the people well.

I am full of hope because I know young people who have joined our Services after independence are shaping well both in the I.A.S. and in the Audit Department. I saw the I.A.S. trainees also and I have had the opportunity of meeting you here today. Of course, I sometimes see the Army and Police people. I am taking only Civil side of it and I have full hopes that they will shape very well and we can look forward with confidence to a good future for the country. Only every one has to do the duty by the country and every one should realise that he owes a duty to the country which is over and above everything else.

I wish you all good luck and I hope you will derive greatest benefit from your training here and when you actually take up the work, you will find yourself not at sea but find yourself on a familiar ground. This is the object of this training and I may just give my own personal experience. You see I was a lawyer to begin with. There used to be a system, I hope it is still there that a lawyer who is to join High Court has to undergo training under an experienced lawyer for two years. Whether he had passed the Law Examination or not, even if one was preparing for examination, he could undergo this training but without this training he could not become an advocate of the High Court. That was the rule in those days.

When I joined a distinguished lawyer—those days they used to call him Articled Clerk—well, I was preparing for Law Examination. I had nothing else to do. I felt I should utilise the time. So I used to go every morning to the house of my senior and work in his office. I used to prepare cases for him, I used to read the papers, prepare notes for him so that he was relieved of the trouble of going through all the papers and reading everything. In cases which were to be argued I used to prepare notes. The notes of the cases to be argued require references of decisions and Laws. I used to prepare the note mentioning the particular Law in the Section, particular ruling of the High Court, etc. I used to do all this. At noon I used to go to Court and used to sit there and listen to the arguments of my lawyer in the case wherein I had already prepared notes myself and I found that they were quite satisfactory and my own experience was that I could do the work as well as any one who has put in some years practice but who has not undergone this training.

That is why I was anxious that you get practical experience. The practical training that you get is through the actual working: disposing of cases, looking into accounts and actually making assessments. You go through all these stages of an officer

who has actually to do the work. Only you don't take decisions. If you make good use of your time, I am sure, it will be of great help to you in later life. Well, what more shall I say except to wish good luck to all of you.

A SYMBOL OF PATRIOTISM AND CHIVALRY.*

I am very happy to be able to come here to unveil this statue of Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi and I am grateful to the organisers of this function for the invitation extended to me.

It would be unnecessary for me to dilate upon the place which Rani Laxmibai occupies in the history of modern India or on her great qualities or on her deeds of bravery. In many parts of this country the life of the Rani of Jhansi and her deeds of valour have become a part of our folk literature. I am not sure if another person has been able to inspire the poets and writers of Hindi, Marathi and Bundelkhandi to such an extent as Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi. Her life and deeds of valour have been the themes of a large number of songs and epic poems. Even today the people are moved when they hear her life's story and a description of her deeds in the battlefield. No wonder that the life of Rani Laxmibai has come to occupy a place of great respect in Indian history.

The great respect which our people show towards the Rani of Jhansi is not due only to her war-like qualities and to her having fought and given away her life in the battle against the forces of a foreign power. There are several other reasons on which is based her great popularity. Rani Laxmibai's great character, her sincerity of purpose and her fearlessness are foremost among those reasons. The country-wide movement of 1857 with which the life-story of Rani Laxmibai is connected has a memorable place in the modern history of our country. We celebrated the centenary of this movement last year. The various functions held in different parts of the country in this connection were marked by their tributes paid to Rani Laxmibai who is acknowledged as one of the foremost leaders of that movement.

Although there does not appear to be any direct connection between the movement of 1857 and the freedom struggle which started in the last quarter of the 19th century, it will have to be admitted that there was a certain continuity in our desire to achieve freedom and the efforts made to that end. The

*Speech made on the occasion of the unveiling of the Statue of Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi at Poona, on the May 18, 1958.

stream has had a continuous flow. It is another matter if sometimes it ran under its bed or on occasions its tide overflowed the banks. The current was always there, whether its speed was invisibly slow or palpably strong. No serious student of Indian history can deny that the widespread enthusiasm which the movement of the 19th century created in the people and the emotional upsurge to which it gave birth, lent a tremendous strength to our struggle for freedom launched subsequently. About the Rani of Jhansi at least it could be said that her lofty ideal and unflinching determination were rooted in her love of freedom and the protection of national esteem. Many a foreign writer of Indian history has testified to the fact that Rani Laxmibai was not only a great patriot and a woman of high moral calibre but also gifted with extraordinary courage and fighting qualities. By her own example she confirmed our age-long tradition of freedom and patriotism. The ideal to which she dedicated her life and for which she made the supreme sacrifice is the precious heritage of free India. I feel certain that the people of this country would ever continue to be inspired by Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi.

Our great country has been able to maintain some sort of cultural unity in the face of vicissitudes of history, though this cultural unity manifested differently in different regions, yet politically speaking, it is the first time that India has emerged as a free integrated country, administered by one power derived from a common Constitution, owing allegiance to one flag. It should be the proud privilege of every Indian to dedicate himself or herself for strengthening the basic factors making for our cultural unity and for defending the Constitutional and political unity of the great Indian Nation. Our cultural and Constitutional unity is face to face with new danger today. It is the foremost duty of each one of us to protect it at all costs. This is the best way we can do honour to the memory of the Rani of Jhansi and offer our tributes to her.

The foundations of a Nation are not laid merely on the apparent facts of history or events occurring on surface. Far more important in the building up of a Nation are those ideas and that spirit which are produced as a reaction to those events and which make a deep impression on the people. That is the only reason why in history and in his own life man has learnt to value those ideas and obtain guidance from them in individual, social and national life. The life-story of Rani Laxmibai and her deeds were such as to release great ideas and ideals which inspired equally great thoughts among the Indian people, particularly our women even today.

Although Rani Laxmibai has come to be known as the Rani of Jhansi and she flourished in modern Uttar Pradesh, yet I believe Maharashtra can legitimately feel proud of her born as she was in a Maratha family.

Having attained our freedom after centuries of slavery we are now in a position to pay our homage of love and gratitude to our national heroes. It is now gratifying that the people of Poona have decided to erect a statue in memory of Laxmibai, the great Rani of Jhansi. This equestrian statue reminds us of the Rani of Jhansi as she fought in the battlefield when she led her forces against the foreigner. I congratulate the Maharani Laxmibai Smarak Samiti on their decision and also offer my felicitations to the artists responsible for making such a beautiful statue. I am sure, whoever, Indian or foreigner, will see this statue will not fail to be impressed by those womanly virtues and qualities of which Rani Laxmibai was an embodiment. It is my fervent hope that this statue will be a constant reminder to generations to come of their sacred duty to safeguard Indian unity—both cultural as well as political. Let us today resolve that we shall ever be willing to perform this duty and never allow this unity to be jeopardised.

Today when we are holding this function also happens to be the centenary of the fall of Rani Laxmibai in the field of battle. I have great pleasure now in unveiling this statue.

BHARATHI'S CONTRIBUTION TO LITERATURE AND NATIONAL CAUSE.*

It has given me great pleasure to be present here today to inaugurate this Cultural Festival organised by the "Bharathi Sangham" of Hyderabad. I have been associated in the same happy way, on one or two occasions earlier, with similar functions organised by the "Bharathi Sangham", particularly the first Tamil Festival organised in New Delhi a few years ago. I greatly value these opportunities as they bring me in touch with some of the devotees of the great Tamil language and its rich literature and some eminent writers. With all my goodwill and admiration for Tamil and its literature I must confess to a sense of disappointment that I am unable to read or write Tamil and am thus deprived of the pleasure and elation which

*Inaugural speech at the Cultural Festival organised by the Bharathi Sangham on June 28, 1958.

acquaintance with it would have given me. I have often wished these opportunities had come my way in my younger days when I had energy to learn new languages.

Among the Indian languages, Tamil is probably the oldest. At a time when other languages, including those of the Indo-Aryan stock, were in formative stage and awaiting the magic touch of a Tulsidas or a Gyaneswar or a Chaitanya Mahaprabhu to raise them to the status of full-grown languages from mere spoken dialects, Tamil could boast even at that time of a style and a diction of which any language may well be proud. Consequently, its influence on the growth and development of South Indian people in and outside India was considerable. Today, when we are a free nation and every citizen of this country is a partner in the great task of building up an India worthy of its great past, contacts among the various languages, as also among the people speaking them, are ever increasing. I fondly look forward to the day when every Indian language will be cultivated in every part of the country at least by some people and facilities would be available for the teaching of every language in each one of the Indian universities.

While thinking of it, I must compliment my South Indian brethren on their ability to pick up the languages of the North. Let me hope, as our educational programme expands and the inter-state contacts develop, languages of the South will be learnt by more and more people in the North.

I am conscious of the fact that now and then controversies have raised their head on the delicate issue of language. No one can question the value for the region concerned and the country at large of developing every regional language spoken in this country. In fact, neglecting these languages would only mean weakening the edifice of our national unity. Ours is a unity of composite nature in which every participating member has a distinctive role to play. It has been a distinctive feature of Indian life and culture to foster variety to strengthen unity. This is evident to any one who considers any aspect of our life and culture—whether it be languages, schools of philosophy, social customs and even modes of living. Anything done to encourage and support any one of the many that contribute to whole serves to strengthen and support the whole. By working for the progress and popularisation of Tamil language and literature, therefore, the Bharathi Sangham is not only working for those who inhabit the Tamil area and speak the Tamil

language but is also making a contribution to the enrichment of Indian culture and the strengthening of national unity. I would like to say emphatically that there is nothing inherently incompatible between the interests of the Tamil language and literature and those of any other Indian language.

The great poet 'Bharathi' inspired tens of thousands of people to the services of the nation. Besides giving a new turn to Tamil poetry by broadening its base and making it more accessible to the common people, Bharathi made a valuable contribution to the national cause. His poetry breathes the spirit of nationalism and patriotic fervour, I am told, permeates all his works. I would, therefore, like to compliment the Tamil-speaking people on their decisions to name one of their principal literary organisations after Bharathi. I am sure Bharathi's message will ever continue to guide and inspire the organisers of the Sangham.

Assuring the Bharathi Sangham and the conveners of the Tamil Festival of my very best wishes and keen interest in their activities, I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Festival.

CONTRIBUTION OF MADHWACHARYA TO INDIAN THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY.*

I am so glad to be here today to inaugurate this conference though I am not sure if my knowledge of philosophy—particularly of the "Dwaita Darshan" of Shri Madhwacharya, would entitle me to this honour. I can only ascribe the invitation extended to me by the conveners to their large-heartedness. For me personally, it is not only a pleasure but a great privilege to be present here and to meet so many eminent scholars and Acharyas.

When I think of the great thinkers and philosophers our country has produced, I often marvel at their erudition, their intellectual prowess, their sense of rectitude and their unshakable faith in what they considered to be right and true. To delve deep into the mysteries of the universe, to probe into the innermost recesses of the cosmos and to theorize from a practical angle and, often from empirical basis, are some of the attributes which we find in Indian thinkers beginning from the

*Inaugural speech at the Madhwa Conference on June 29, 1958.

Vedic Age down to comparatively recent times. As a lay-man interested in our past heritage and as a student desirous of acquainting myself with the evolution of human thought, whenever I have read an oft repeated verse from our Sastras or come across a pithy Sutra, I have invariably experienced a feeling of elation and nearness to real human nature and truth. So deep was the insight of the sages of yore and so intense their knowledge of human psychology and man's innermost urges and aspirations that when we go through some of their works even today, we often feel as if a moderner were speaking to us. The reason, I believe, is that shorn of all superfluities and superficial things, their thoughts grasped the fundamentals of human nature and universal truth. That is why the great fund of knowledge that has come down to us has proved, in many respects, not only universal in character but an abiding source of inspiration to people generation after generation. Practically all our literature, our humanities and our sciences which have sustained us through all the trials and turmoils it has been our lot to undergo, have their root in Vedic and post-Vedic literature.

India is renowned for its systems of philosophy and its great schools of dialectical reasoning. We can justly feel proud of them. When the West came in touch with this knowledge in the 18th and the 19th centuries, it created a great stir in Europe's scholastic circles. The great German philosopher, Schopenhauer, is said to have exclaimed after going through a translation of the Upanishads that he would willingly barter all the knowledge of the world he had with the contents of the Upanishads! He looked upon them as the solace of his life and after death. Many other renowned scholars and philosophers thought equally well of Indian philosophy and the great thinkers who enunciated it.

One of the greatest among these Indian thinkers was, undoubtedly, Shri Madhwacharya who flourished in the 13th century. He was an eminent scholar and a great mystic who revitalised Indian philosophy and revolutionized the whole gamut of Indian beliefs. I am not a student of the philosophy of Madhwacharya, but no one can fail to be impressed by some of the outstanding features of his contribution which is sufficient to compel admiration from all true lovers of knowledge. His unshakable and undying faith in the existence of a Supreme Being, whose children all human beings are and whose splendid creation this panorama of Sristhi or the universe is, is enough to fill our hearts and heads with joy and abiding peace. Shri Madhwacharya has, indeed, a high place among the Indian

philosophers and thinkers and the school of "Dwaita Darshan" which he was responsible for founding, is a conspicuous addition to the systems of thought incorporated in Indian philosophy.

Hindu Indian thought, as I have said, has its roots in the Vedas. The unity of India is reflected in the growth and spread of its thought. This steady evolution of thought has gone a long way in shaping our minds and nurturing the day-to-day lives of our people. I need hardly say that behind the cavalcade of history with all its vicissitudes and upheavals flows steadily this stream of thought as a sustaining force. Judging from this point of view, Shri Madhwacharya may well be reckoned as a great nation-builder whose impressive thought and devotional fervour based on it strengthened our philosophical traditions and blazed a new trail for our people.

I am glad to know that the All-India Madhwa Maha Mandal has taken upon itself to enlist and enlarge popular interest in the philosophy of Madhwacharya and to propagate and popularise Vedic Culture. These are commendable objectives. I offer the Mandal my best wishes and wish them good luck in their mission.

I have great pleasure now to inaugurate this third session of the Madhwa Conference.

A LAUDABLE COURSE OF PRACTICAL ADMINISTRATION.*

When General Srinagesh extended the invitation to visit this institution to me, I welcomed the idea of taking this opportunity and acquainting myself with this institution. That is because I considered this institution to be a unique institution of its kind not only in this country, but one of the very few in the whole world. It is unique in several respects. As you call this institution a college, I hope I am not committing any impropriety in calling its members students. It is unique in this, that it has got a unique set of students. It is not an institution for training recruits. If I may say so, it is an institution for further training those who have already been trained, trained not only in an institution, but gained actual experience of administration in their respective spheres. The training that they receive here is not the original or the preliminary training which a recruit gets, but it consists in exchange of experiences,

*Speech at the Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, on July 5, 1958.

in pooling of knowledge, and in gaining such personal knowledge by further study as can be acquired by the use of your well-equipped library. And the method that you pursue is not that of giving lectures, which is the method pursued in other educational institutions.

The method that you pursue is unique in the sense that it expects all those who come here as students to sit together in small groups called syndicates, and to discuss the various problems which may arise from different aspects and from different points of view: and in that way they not only increase their own respective knowledge, because everyone is not expected or supposed to have the knowledge which everyone else has. Everyone has been working in his own way in his own institution or in his own organisation, and everyone has got his own peculiar experience. All this experience is not only pooled together, but also discussed so that all angularities may be ironed out and further light may be thrown with regard to the solution of problems which are expected to face them when they take up higher posts as they are expected to do. It is on account of this uniqueness that this institution has been hailed as a great institution, although it is not great in the sense that it has a large number of professors or a large number of students in it. There is no doubt that the experience which you gain here will be of immense help when you go back to your respective offices and you will be able to bring to bear on the work that lies before you the experience of others which you have gathered in the course of your stay here and in the discussions which you have had with them.

I have been looking at the curriculum and I find that you have a very comprehensive curriculum which covers practically all aspects of administration, whether in business, in government offices or even in a specialised department like the Defence Department. The experience which each one brings is thus compared and collated with the experience of others, and, as I have said, it will help you when you go back in solving the problems which will face you there. Undoubtedly the number in the college is small and it could not be larger. The course is only of three months but within that period you get enough opportunity because you all live together and practically the whole of your time is spent in the way you are expected to spend the time in studying and in exchange of views. The number is so small that for the time being it may seem that you are too few to be able to make any impression in your own big offices

when you go back. But I do not think so. My own feeling and hope is that you will act like a leaven in your own office. Like a catalytic agent you will serve to create in others the same kind of ambition that you have and what is more, the ability to fulfil that ambition. Others will get opportunity in later time to come and have the advantage of their stay here. But in order that you may be able to do that, you have to acquire not only more knowledge, more experience, but something more and that I consider to be more valuable than anything else that you can acquire in life.

As a school boy, I remember to have learnt in a textbook that honesty was the best policy. I think it is a good maxim so far as it goes, but I believe honesty loses some of its value when it becomes a policy. Apart from its being a profitable or beneficial business, honesty has a value of its own; and in this age, particularly in this country, when we are engaged in the tremendous enterprise of building up a new nation, we require integrity and honesty more than anything else. It is not unusual to hear complaints that there has been a deterioration and we sometimes try to excuse ourselves by saying that it is one of the aftermaths of the last big war. We sometimes excuse ourselves also by saying we cannot help it: the people are like that and we are not above the people; we are of them. What is wanted is that persons who will be placed in responsible positions that you hold and still more and higher responsible positions which you are expected to hold, you are expected to act with integrity and with honesty which is not only dictated by expediency or by even being a profitable beneficial investment, but which is valuable for its own sake. It is only in that way that you will be able to raise the moral standard of all those who come in contact with you and amongst whom it will be your lot to work.

It is in that sense that I expect that you will go and work amongst them as a leaven which will make them better, more helpful and also more resourceful without being in any sense anything but honest to solve the various problems which will come up before you. We have different kinds of problems facing the different departments from which you come—administrators have their own problems; businessmen have theirs, and even in government offices we have got different departments dealing with different aspects of business and each one has its own problems.

All these problems require not only high mental equipment, high calibre intellectually, but also a kind of integrity which rises above all other considerations and which enables the holder of high position to exercise an influence on others which may not always be visible but which is nonetheless felt and felt to a degree which is not easily understandable. I am hoping that in this institution, you will be acquiring that also along with the other experience that you will have. We have reports almost every day in the papers about a strike in this factory or that factory. Sometimes we hear of strikes even in government departments.

We hear of demands raised by all classes of people for fulfilment of their own requirements. What is needed is an adjustment of all the conflicting claims and the conflicting ideas, and for arriving at a just and fair deal, you require nothing more than this high standard of integrity. It is for this reason that I have felt that although it might not be one of the items expressly mentioned in your curriculum, as it could not be, it is one of the things to which I could profitably draw your attention, so that not only here in your discussions but also in life, when you go back to your respective posts, you will be able to hold up a high standard for others to follow.

I am happy therefore to be here with you even though for a short time to acquire first-hand knowledge of this institution, and to make acquaintance with at any rate one batch of you who are present here today. I am glad I have noted some known faces and of course I have known your Principal, General Srinagesh, for many years, and I am happy that this institution has been started under such high auspices. I am sure it will serve the great purpose with which it was started.

PLACE OF SECOND CHAMBER IN A LEGISLATURE.*

I am very happy to be present here today to inaugurate the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council. On this solemn and happy occasion, I extend to you, the legislators of Andhra Pradesh, and through you to the people of Andhra Pradesh, my greetings and best wishes. I congratulate the Members who have been newly elected to this Council. It is their great privi-

*Speech on the occasion of the inauguration of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council, Hyderabad on July 8, 1958.

lege to be able to make a contribution to legislation of this State. In doing so, you will need all the wisdom you have been blessed with, and the enthusiasm and support of the people. Legislation in the modern world is becoming more and more complex and its problems more pressing. Though the old idea that Second Chambers are necessary as revising Houses is perhaps no longer so important, in the necessities of the present-day world, there are still valuable considerations which make Second Chambers useful. They afford opportunities for representatives of minorities and persons who have special knowledge and experience in various fields of national activity, to contribute to legislative deliberations and ensure maturity of consideration and thought to every one of the various aspects of legislation.

The main duty of any Legislature is to see that the people get sound and well considered laws to guide their destinies. In discharging that duty, the nation cannot afford to lose the services and the wisdom of persons of maturity and experience whose special knowledge would otherwise remain unutilised.

With the inauguration today of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council, the legislative machinery of this State may now be said to be complete.

I would like to reiterate today what I said in 1953 when Andhra was brought into being as a separate State. While sharing your happiness and jubilations on the occasion, I had said that the creation of a separate State brought fresh responsibilities on the people who had voiced that demand, because all these constitutional arrangements are essentially a means for the fulfilment of a higher end, namely, serving the people and working for their well-being. These remarks made five years ago, have acquired added force when applied to the conditions of today.

Andhra Pradesh is now well-set on the road to progress as one of the major States in the Indian Union. You have in this State vast natural resources and adequate manpower. You have a long sea coast with an excellent natural harbour and India's only ship-building yard, and in addition to that, a net-work of rail-road communications. On the whole, your State has been blessed with a fertile soil irrigated by two mighty rivers and their tributaries and several canals. In the near future the waters of your rivers are going to be harnessed bringing greater irrigational facilities and valuable power within your reach. The great industrial potential that you have now awaits tapping.

About your industrious people and their proud heritage, I need hardly say much. Andhra has a history whose greatness thrills not only you but the whole country. Your contribution in the development and representation of Indian culture and in spreading it far and near during the early centuries of this era has been remarkable. With all these achievements to your credit, with manifold material resources at your command and new opportunities within your reach, the people of this State should be within their rights to expect the dawn of a new era of plenty and prosperity—an era in which poverty and ignorance will be banished from the land and the minimum requirements of life assured to every citizen.

It is your privilege, legislators of Andhra Pradesh, to be the spearheads of this programme of reconstruction. The opportunities which have and will come your way can be justified only in terms of the progress to be made by the State. After centuries of dormant life, we have only recently turned a corner. All of us who have been voted to power by our people, owe it to them and also to posterity to turn this opportunity to the nation's best advantage. The rulers of today cannot merely content themselves with governing satisfactorily. They have to see to it that every individual in the State, whatever his caste, creed or part of the State from which he comes, feels that his interest and welfare are safe in their hands and that not only the views of the majority but also of every minority, however small and whether religious, linguistic, cultural or regional, find full expression and receive full consideration at their hands. Further they have been charged with the responsibility of laying the foundations of a new India. They have been entrusted with the solemn task of erecting the base on which will stand the edifice of one of the world's biggest welfare states. It is a task in the accomplishing of which every Indian citizen, however humble, is a partner. Let each one of us do his or her allotted task. I would particularly appeal to people's representatives and leaders to do their duty by guiding the masses and by inspiring them to dedicate themselves to this great task of working for the fulfilment of the ideal we have set before ourselves.

While again congratulating the newly elected members of the Andhra Legislative Council, I hope they will be able to make a contribution to legislation in Andhra and that their deliberations will prove to be a valuable factor in the State's administration. I wish each one of you good luck and a career of service to the nation.

EDUCATION AND ENTERTAINMENT—TWIN FUNCTIONS OF BROADCASTING.*

It gives me great pleasure to be present here today to inaugurate the 10 KW Transmitter for the Hyderabad Station of the All India Radio. This high power short-wave Transmitter will be a welcome addition to broadcasting facilities for the people of Andhra Pradesh. On second thought I feel that associating these facilities with only the people of this State will not, perhaps, be quite correct, because the cultural programmes broadcast from the Hyderabad Station are likely to attract listeners even beyond the borders of Andhra Pradesh. The rich traditions of art and culture of this State and the exuberance of talent here are bound to cut across State boundaries. Therefore, I think that the installation of this Transmitter in Hyderabad will be welcomed far and wide.

In recent years this region has undergone a few changes. I am glad that the All India Radio has ever tried to keep pace with every change and provide the widest possible broadcasting service to the people of this region. Now that all the Telugu speaking areas have been grouped to form Andhra Pradesh, the Stations of Hyderabad and Vijayawada in this State will, between themselves, be able to cover not only the entire State, but also some adjoining areas.

At a time when there are severe import restrictions in our country, we owe it to the resourcefulness and earnestness of All India Radio to produce this Transmitter as also some other technical equipment for broadcasting by taking advantage of the Colombo Plan Aid. On the extension of broadcasting facilities at a difficult time, I would like to congratulate A.I.R. and also the people of Andhra who will directly benefit from the installation of this Transmitter.

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Dr. B. V. Keskar, has been good enough to provide me now and then such pleasant opportunities which I have often utilised in expressing my views on the importance of broadcasting in a large country like India. As I have said on some previous occasion, the All India Radio has two objectives before it, one of which is immediate and the other long-term. The immediate objective is the dissemination of news and useful information, providing entertainment to listeners and encouraging fine arts like music, drama and literature. Its long-term objective is to educate the people

*Speech made at the inauguration of the new Transmitter for the All India Radio Station at Hyderabad, on July 16, 1958.

by presenting items of entertainment in a manner that the listeners' mental and intellectual equipment improves and their taste and general appreciation get refined. Recreation or entertainment may be essential for human beings as it certainly is, but its choice is essentially a delicate matter. While on the one hand it is necessary for those who provide entertainment to eschew the grotesque and the vulgar, it is equally necessary that they do not make all entertainment didactic and thereby rob it of the recreational element. It is here that culture plays a part. The thin line which divides the refined from the unrefined taste can be seen and defined only in terms of culture.

I feel so happy to say that the All India Radio has been grappling with this difficult task with appreciable zeal and earnestness, sometimes even at the risk of alienating certain sections of its clientele. Over and above providing recreation and entertainment for listeners of various age groups, it has shown remarkable initiative in organising drama festivals, music festivals and literary forums on all all-India basis. On some of these occasions I have been present either to inaugurate them or to preside over the concluding sessions and to give away the prizes, and I should like to express the hope that A.I.Rs efforts in presenting Indian culture in a proper perspective are now beginning to bear fruit.

Once again I congratulate the All India Radio on its successful efforts to impose upon the existing broadcasting facilities in the country. I have great pleasure in inaugurating the new Transmitter.

ON INDEPENDENCE OF JUDICIARY AND QUICK DISPENSATION OF JUSTICE.*

It is a matter of gratification to me that I am able to participate in this morning's function. Accommodation, comfortable and also from the utilitarian point of view good accommodation, is always necessary for doing good work. Knowing as I do the kind of responsible work that the judges have to perform, it is necessary that they should not only be housed well but also have suitable surroundings which help them in keeping their temper and also in the discharge of their duties to the satisfaction of all (Laughter). It is therefore a matter of pleasure that the Government, particularly the Chief Minister, were anxious

*Speech at the opening ceremony of the new Block of the High Court Building in Hyderabad, on July 16, 1958.

to provide the funds for expanding the building of the High Court; and, as the Chief Justice has been good enough to point out, not only the Government, but the whole staff of the Engineering Department, co-operated in completing the building in a short time. I hope that with the complement of judges that you have got now, with better accommodation and with the keenness with which you have entered upon your duty, with the co-operation of the members of the Bar, the arrears which had accumulated on account of various reasons over which you had no control will soon be wiped out (Laughter). In course of time, I am sure, you will be able not only to dispense justice but also to dispense it with quickness, so that by the time a man goes back from the court, he does not find himself out of pocket more than he need be on account of the delay in the administration of justice.

Our Constitution has provided for the independence of judges in ample manner and it is expected—and I am glad to say that expectation is fulfilled in most cases—that justice will be administered by the judges of the High Court impartially not only as between individual and individual or between a private party and a corporation, but also between a private individual on one side and the State on the other (Applause). If there is one thing which we have inherited from the British Government which is of great value to us, it is the judicial system that we have got from them (Applause). It is not that we did not have any judicial system before the British came; we had our own system. But during the 150 years or more that the British ruled here, they introduced very largely their own system of not only laws but also of procedure to be followed in administering the laws, and today all over the country we have got courts presided over by judges assisted by lawyers who have all been brought up in the tradition which derives directly from the British system. Therefore we have been trying also to keep up the traditions not only of the Bench, but also of the Bar. It is obvious that you cannot have a very strong Bench unless you have a strong Bar. Apart from the fact that members of the Bench have to be recruited from amongst members of the Bar, the Bar also lends support in maintaining the integrity, the impartiality and speedy disposal by the court, and it is therefore a matter of congratulation that you have already got a pretty strong Bar here—I am told you have more than 500 members practising before the High Court—and I have no doubt that those members will continue to supply members of the Bench and give their service to the public in obtaining justice.

Now I said our Constitution makes ample provision for the independence of judges. As a matter of fact, the various arms of the State, the courts, especially the High Courts and the Supreme Court, have been kept more or less completely independent of the influence of the executive. In the form of democracy which we have adopted, there is bound to be party which will take up the work of administering the country—the State—and political parties will always have rivalry and they will also have to bear in mind, apart from the good of the country that they are expected to serve, the party interests also. It is therefore necessary that judges should be above party politics and should be above the influence of any government that may be in power for the time being (applause). It is for this reason that the appointment of High Court Judges is made not by the Local Government but by the President. Of course the President acts in accordance with the advice of his Ministers, but they are supposed to be apart from the local parties where the High Court is situated.

We have during our own time seen tremendous changes in politics, but the changes in law and the consequent changes in litigation have also been not less important or less tremendous. I believe some thirty years ago, most of the big litigation was concerned with inheritance to big zamindaries, and with the abolition of zamindaries, with the great changes that have been introduced in land laws, and further on account of changes in the law of succession which have been introduced by legislation, the nature and form of litigation have undergone considerable change. At one time it was thought that with the abolition of these big zamindaries, there will be less litigation, but I do not know—you know the figures better than I do—whether there has been any lessening or diminution in the number of institution of cases either before the High Courts or before the lower courts. The change in the law of succession and in land laws has resulted in a change in the form of litigation, not in the quantum of it, and the addition of fundamental rights in our Constitution and the powers of courts to issue writs, have provided an altogether new field more or less for litigation, and if I mistake not, the number of writ petitions in the various States pending before the High Courts goes into thousands as was pointed out by the Chief Justice a few minutes ago. I believe other types of cases are now coming up, and the more we develop industrially, commercial cases are bound to increase in importance as well as in numbers.

So, while we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that we have changed the form of litigation, I am not sure if we

are in a position to congratulate ourselves on the fact that litigation has become or will become less. That being so, the independence of judges has to be assured, and that our Constitution has done as I have said, in ample measure. I have no doubt that in dealing with these cases you have the assistance of all the members of the Bar who are really officers of the Court, and whatever the public might think and whatever some of the lawyers themselves might think, they are here not to win cases but to assist the judges in deciding cases justly, fairly and independently. The function of the lawyer is to assist the judge by pointing out the strong points in favour of one side and the opponent on the other side takes similar care to point out the strong points in his client's favour and also the weak points in the other side's case. Now it is in this way that the judges are enabled to function and to bring out the best that can be found on the record.

As a young man when I was practising at the Bar, I remember an incident and I wish to mention it here because I have got in front of me a galaxy of lawyers either on the Bench or at the Bar. As a young man I was arguing a short appeal before the High Court Judge, and I do not know whether it was deliberate or inadvertently, I made the remark the justice of the case requires this and that and the Hon'ble Judge was pleased to snub me by saying "You are entirely wrong": we are not here to do justice, but we are here to decide cases from the record". I could only say in reply to the Judge "My Lord, I am distressed to hear this". (Laughter.) I too hope that while you have to confine yourself to the record, to the evidence that has been placed before the High Court and not to impart anything of your own knowledge or anything that is not contained in the record, you cannot afford to ignore the claims of justice altogether and I do not think it is impossible to reconcile justice with the facts as recorded in the evidence (Applause). The function of the lawyer and the function of the judge is to sift the wrong from the right and the right from the wrong, and to find out in the confusion which is very often created by conflicting evidence, where the truth lies, and justice lies where the truth lies. Therefore, while deciding cases, judges have to bear in mind that the decision has to conform to the evidence, but at the same time it has to conform to their conscience also because they have to make up their mind whether to accept a particular piece of evidence or not to accept it.

We have had a glorious tradition of the Bar and the Bench in this country and even while the British were ruling this country, our Bar had attained an importance and a capacity to do good which was equal to the Bar of any country, and even in those days our judges were able to deliver judgments which could compare favourably with judgments delivered by judges in any country in the world, both from the point of view of learning, knowledge of the law and also the acumen with which the plethora of evidence was sifted and examined. So we have had that tradition, and now that we are free, we ought to add to that and make our courts and our litigant public conscious of the fact that they are here to do justice also. It is one of the difficulties which a poor client has always to face, and that is the delay in the disposal of cases. That has to be reduced as far as possible, and I hope with the additional judges and the full complement that you have got now, you will be able to dispose of cases quickly so that a man who actually wins in the court does as a matter of fact win at home also. That is what has to be done and I have no doubt that you have all got that always in your mind when you are sitting to decide cases.

As I have said, the nature of litigation has changed, but the kind of learning, the kind of integrity, the kind of acumen which judges have to bring to bear on cases coming before them, they have not changed and they will not change. In this country where people go to court even for small matters, the quicker the disposal, the better for all concerned, and while there is ample provision for appeal against decisions of courts, even the highest court in the State, people should feel that justice has been done and they should not be in the need of going up in appeal. Of course there will be a certain class of people who go to court more or less in a gambling spirit. We cannot help that, but we can rest assured that the ordinary man with ordinary intelligence and ordinary case for his own interest, will not go to the appellate court if his case is justly decided in the First Court even if he fails there. Gambler apart, the ordinary man brings the dispute before the court, and when a decision adverse has been given, there is the end of the matter so far as he is concerned and it is that class of people that we have to keep satisfied not only by doing justice, but by making it appear to all that justice has been done. The members of the Bar, as I have said, play an important part in the administration of justice and I have no doubt that they will have before them the highest traditions of the Bar in this country.

I am grateful to the Chief Justice for asking me to come here this morning and to take part in this function because I was also at one time, as you have said, a lawyer, and although I have long ceased to be one—I have been much longer out of the Bar than in it—still the first love is never completely lost (loud applause). There is some kind of satisfaction when I come across people of the same fraternity to which I at one time belonged. I can only hope that in the sphere in which I am working, with the members of the Bar as well as with the members of the Bench, their judicial acumen will judge my doings when I have left my place.

I thank you all for the patience with which you have listened to me because I have been talking more or less at random without any set purpose and I am sure the Hon'ble Judges who are used to listening to arguments which are expected to be relevant but which very often are not, will extend some kind of indulgence to a man who has long ceased to be a member of the Bar. I thank you.

IDEA OF COMMON LANGUAGE BASED ON PATRIOTISM AND UNITY.*

When an invitation to participate in this function was extended to me, and that invitation was re-enforced by Dr. Katju, I had little hesitation in accepting it.

I desire to make it clear at the outset that although the Constitution has laid down—and that with the unanimous vote of the Constituent Assembly—that Hindi written in the Devanagari script shall be the official language of the Union of India, it is subject to the limitation that it shall be only by gradual steps which have to be decided on recommendations of two quinquennial Commissions whose report shall be scrutinised by Committees of Parliament and then action taken in accordance with the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee by the Government. And it is expected that the country would be in a position to give effect to the Constitutional provisions in 15 years' time. That again is subject to certain restrictions regarding the language of the High Court, Supreme Court, etc. With regard to the language to be used by the Government in States, it is the regional language or Hindi which is to be used in accordance with the direction given by the State Legislature.

*Speech made at the A. I. Rashtrabhasha Prachar Sammelan at Bhopal on July 19, 1958.

It is thus clear that there is no provision which can be interpreted as lending support to the imposing of Hindi either on the Central Government or on any State Government. The idea is to so phase the various steps to be taken as to make the change-over from English to Hindi as the Union Official language easy and convenient and that on the advice of a special Commission and a special Parliamentary Committee on which all parties and regional languages and interests will be represented. The first Commission which was appointed has made a report which is being considered by the Parliamentary Committee and it is not yet possible to say what the final form of the recommendations on which the Government will have to act will be. We must, therefore, exclude, and indeed I know it is nobody's intention to act otherwise, all apprehension of Hindi being imposed. Whenever it is introduced and whatever the stages and gradual steps taken to introduce it, both the time and the action will be determined by Parliament, and the Parliament in this as in all other matters is the mouth-piece and the authoritative body to lay down the law and the national policy.

Coming to the merits of the question, I think I should consider the matter in some detail. In the first place the real contest in the States is not between Hindi and English but between English and the regional languages. I do not know if it has been argued or suggested that English should continue to be the language for State purposes in preference to the regional language. That is a proposition which I consider to be not only unarguable but even unstatable. After nearly 150 years of education in English, it cannot be said, and it has not been claimed even, that it has reached more than an infinitesimal proportion of the population. Democracy will lose all its meaning if its business is to be conducted in a language which is understood by a very small section and that mainly of the urban population. There can be no question that the vast mass of humanity which does not know English cannot be left out of account and the business of the State Government has to be carried out in the local or regional language.

Most of the State Legislatures have, therefore, most naturally and correctly decided that their affairs shall be conducted in their regional languages. English has to give place to regional languages and sooner or later—very much sooner rather than later—these regional languages have to come to their own in their own regions to the extent they have been so long excluded. When regional languages have thus been introduced to the fullest extent for all governmental purposes within

their own regions, and we know that they are to a very considerable extent the languages used by the people generally in all other matters, the question will arise if we shall be justified in asking English to remain the language of the Central Government and for inter-State communication. In that changed context when, as I have said, all State work is carried on in the regional language and the regional language has been enriched further in the process and all in the State services have, as a matter of course, acquired proficiency in the regional language, the question naturally will be, which other language are they to learn and have proficiency in, for inter-State purposes. Obviously it can and should be an Indian language. Hindi selected as the official language of the Union, has an affinity with most, if not at all, of the regional languages largely because of a common background, especially through Sanskrit. It will obviously mean less effort for men proficient in the regional languages to learn Hindi and gain proficiency in it than for them to learn and gain proficiency in an altogether foreign unconnected language like English.

Apart from this severely practical consideration, sentiment cannot be altogether ruled out. The self-respect, patriotism and the urge for unity will demand that an Indian language should be the language of the country's government. Indeed it has already been felt as a matter of experience that in many foreign countries surprise is felt if not openly expressed that we still continue to use English for our foreign affairs. Even small countries insist on their formal documents being written and presented to us in their own language and I have seen representatives of foreign governments using their own language, on formal occasions at least, even if they know English. We too have to use Hindi in our formal documents which have to be delivered to or exchanged with foreign countries. As time passes this feeling is bound to grow stronger and stronger.

The importance of a common language for certain purposes for a country's unity cannot be exaggerated. I am conscious of the fact that there are factors, other than a common language, which are vital for strengthening a nation's unity. It is, however, an incontrovertible fact that when the said other factors are there, common language proves to be a great cementing force. Such a situation obtains in our country. Our age-old traditions, our worldly and spiritual ideals, our peculiar thought—all these factors have gone to constitute the fabric of India's unity, which is generally called cultural unity. I admit that

this picture of Indian unity has not always been perfect. Politically-speaking our unity suffered setbacks in the past resulting in the establishment of more than one State in the country. To add political unity to the concept of cultural unity redounds to the credit of the present age. It is a fact of which all of us can feel proud. We were fortunate in being blessed with leaders whose guidance and moral stature helped us in achieving this objective. Now that the plant of political unity has taken root in the soil fertilized by cultural unity, it is the duty of every Indian to leave nothing undone to nurture this plant. The adoption and propagation of a common Indian language for all-India and inter-State contacts is in my opinion essential for strengthening this sapling of national unity and freedom.

The question then naturally arises which of the Indian languages can perform this function. We have several languages well developed and having good literatures of their own, and a selection had to be made and the Constituent Assembly adopted Hindi because it was spoken and understood more widely than any other single language and also because it had served in the past as a common language for India for all those who did not know English. We know that pilgrims and traders have very largely depended on some form of what may be called Hindi for making themselves understood by others in distant parts of the country.

A movement for the spread of Hindi in the Southern region was started some forty years ago and we know that within this period it has succeeded in teaching Hindi to some 50 lakhs of people in the Southern region; as against this the number of people knowing English in that region was just over 10 lakhs. It may be that the standard of the knowledge of English of some or rather a great part of this number was very much higher than that of those knowing Hindi. But that would only indicate the need for higher standard in Hindi being introduced. And this progress has been achieved when there was every encouragement for the study of English which opened the avenues of all worth-while employments and there was hardly any avenue of that kind for the Hindi-knowing.

The present position is that arrangements for the teaching of Hindi exist in nearly all the 5,000 High Schools and more than 200 Colleges in the South and irrespective of the fact whether it is compulsory or optional subject of study, the number of students studying it is ever increasing. In Andhra and Kerala, Hindi is taught as a compulsory subject, whereas

it is not so in Madras but even in this latter State more than 75% school students offer Hindi as one of the subjects. There is little wonder that apart from the 5,000 High Schools, there are another 4,500 public centres in the South for the study of Hindi. All this speaks eloquently about the sense of patriotism and nationalism of the South-Indian people. The objection to Hindi being adopted for the purposes of the Union has been voiced in the Tamil area. But even in Tamilnad there is a powerful voice which while opposing its adoption as the official language for the Union supports its teaching and spread in that region. So far as the other South-Indian languages are concerned, there is no appreciable opposition. It is interesting by the way to note that Tamilians are going in for Hindi with the same enthusiasm as before. The comparative figures of examinees at the examinations of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha will show that even during 1957 and 1958 there has been some increase which shows an upward trend.

The most formidable objection to Hindi that is raised by its opponents is that it is not rich enough for modern purposes. That is an objection applicable more or less to all Indian languages. The reason is simple and easily understandable. They have never been called upon or required to fulfil these needs. The subjects in respect of which there is poverty of vocabulary in Hindi, or for that matter in any other Indian language, have never been taught in our schools and colleges through the medium of Hindi or any other Indian regional language. Our teachers and professors have never cultivated them or used them for expressing their thoughts. Whatever contribution to the advancement of knowledge they have made they have done through the medium of English and naturally our languages have not grown to the extent needed. Whenever they have been called upon to fulfil a purpose as, for example, for expressing sentiments and philosophical thought, they have acquitted themselves well and in the hands of a good or great writer they have yielded results which have roused the curiosity and admiration of others.

I have no doubt that once given the scope they will come up to the requisite standard. Can any one say that scientific subjects have found ready-made vocabulary in any language of the world? Is it not a fact that with the growth of Science and Technology new words have been coined in all languages, and there is no reason why the same should not happen in India, if we once take to our own languages for expressing modern

scientific ideas. Our Scientists will not find it difficult to coin words where necessary, especially with the help of Sanskrit, once they start writing in our languages including Hindi.

As I have said, this want of suitable technical vocabulary is common to all Indian languages. My own feeling is that with the aid of Sanskrit it is possible to have one common technical vocabulary. The effort which has been and is being made by the Government of India in evolving such a vocabulary has met with remarkable success. Although some of the new terms may appear unfamiliar and even uncouth, the effort is in the right direction. I am hoping that as more and more use begins to be made of it, it will go on improving and will get enriched further in the process. This is what has happened in all countries and with all languages and there is no reason why it should not happen in India. If once this happens, the most formidable obstacle in the way of Indian languages being used even for Science and Technology is removed and there will be no other hurdle. Governmental and administrative terms are much easier and more readily available and will undoubtedly be adopted in them sooner than in scientific and technological writings.

I do not mean to suggest that English as a useful foreign language should cease to be cultivated or taught in Indian schools. The spheres of English and of the Indian languages are more or less mutually exclusive so that when the latter have come to occupy their rightful place, there can be no clash between them. Far from discouraging the study of English, we should continue to cultivate it assiduously just as important foreign languages are studied in other countries.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood if I point out to all who are interested in the growth and spread of Hindi that misplaced enthusiasm is largely responsible for such opposition as is visible now. It is really not the function of the Hindi-speaking people to engage in propaganda for the adoption of Hindi as the official language. It should be left to be introduced with the goodwill and support of the non-Hindi-speaking people, when they are in a position to feel that their interests are not affected for the worse and that their national and patriotic sentiment demands the adoption of an Indian language for official purposes. Personally I have no doubt that that feeling will not take long to assert itself. In the meantime all lovers of Hindi have before them the very important and constructive work to develop the language; its vocabulary and its literature so as to make it attractive on its own merits to all who do not know it. There are many directions in which work should be undertaken.

In enriching the language and literature of Hindi, the Hindi-speaking people should not be rigid or narrow in their attitude but should have a wide outlook, and instead of frowning upon non-Hindi-speaking people for any the least departure from accepted models, they should encourage more and more such people to make contribution even in determining the vocabulary, the idioms, the styles and perhaps to some extent even the grammar of the language. It is possible that various styles with slight differences may arise, and as a matter of fact they do exist to some extent even now, but that has to be tolerated and even welcomed. If we take only the example of England and America into consideration, we shall find ample justification for what I have said. Although English is the language of both, there is considerable difference in many respects in the language as used in the one country and in the other. But for that reason the language has not ceased and cannot be said to be anything but English. Similarly, if some variation in vocabulary, idiom or style becomes apparent in any writer or in any region, we should look upon it as a sign of growth rather than of deterioration. If we consider Hindi alone, we shall find considerable difference between the language and the style of Premsagar and Premchand's writings. I believe there is difference even in the styles of Bharatendu Harishchandra and living poets of today. Therefore, if a Maharashtrian or a Bengali writes in a somewhat different style, we should not be surprised, because he is bound to be influenced by the style, vocabulary and idiom of his own language. It is only in this way that Hindi can spread and be accepted by non-Hindi-speaking people even for the limited purposes for which it is intended.

We have to remember that all the Indian languages are bound to grow and improve in their own regions and we are pledged to help them. There is thus a vast field for the enrichment of all these languages, and when they get enriched, Hindi ought to be prepared to get as much out of them as it would like them to take out of it. I believe it is true not only of material prosperity but also of languages of India that the improvement and enrichment of any one of them is bound to have its effect on the others. If we only look back to the early years of this century, we cannot fail noticing the influence which Bengali literature had on the growth of Hindi literature. Hindi owes not a little to many non-Hindi-speaking people who have made their valuable contribution to Hindi, and there is no reason to suppose why this should not happen in the future. Further, Hindi cannot be treated as a preserve of the Hindi-

speaking people alone. It is common experience that when a person with one language as his mother-tongue studies another language, he studies it better than his own language, and a person who has given time to mastering a foreign language generally knows the language better than those whose mother-tongue that foreign language is. Even today we can see in South India persons who write and talk better, more chaste and more idiomatic Hindi than, say, a person like myself does. I am quite sure that with the speed with which Hindi is spreading, and the devotion and zeal with which it is being cultivated in several of the non-Hindi-speaking regions, they will not only attract the attention of the Hindi-speaking people but will begin even to displace them from many places. English people and foreigners are surprised at the fluency and style of Indians writing and speaking English. That is a phenomenon which is bound to be repeated also in the case of Hindi. That will be a happy day and when it comes, there will be no opposition, but Hindi will be held as the language for all-India purposes by all parts with joy.

Hindi-speaking people have to work in a spirit of dedication so as to win the approval of the non-Hindi-speaking people for Hindi by making it a fit vehicle for expression of all kinds of modern ideas and also by making its literature rich enough to attract others. They ought to have faith in the patriotism of others and leave it to them to lay down the pace and the steps to be taken for implementing the Constitution.

OPENING OF SUPREME COURT BUILDING.*

I consider it a piece of good fortune for me as President of India to be associated with a function like the one we are participating in this morning. I do not think it will fall to the lot of any of my successors to declare open such a 'Temple of Justice'.

This noble edifice has been conceived and planned by engineers and architects who have been trained in their profession according to western standards. While bringing to bear on its construction their western experience and skill of high order, they have combined with it our conception of justice. Traditionally we look upon justice as a pair of scales the two pans of which have to be held evenly without allowing the beam from which they hang to incline to one side or the other. We see two wings on the two sides. They will accommodate

*Speech made while opening the new building of the Supreme Court, on August 4, 1958.

the offices and the records. At the end of each wing is a semi-circular structure. They represent the pans which are attached to the beam at the top. This beam will accommodate the court rooms wherein the Hon'ble Judges will sit and dispense justice without inclining either to the right or to the left.

Just as the building is modelled on European architecture but the idea underlying it is Indian in conception, even so, should our Constitution, which is modelled very largely on the British Constitution, be understood, worked and interpreted in accordance with our Indian genius. It is well known and well understood that our Constitution is based largely on the British Constitution and yet there are certain basic factors which distinguish the one from the other. For example, the British Constitution is an unwritten Constitution which has been evolved in the course of centuries and has grown from precedent to precedent. It is a unitary Constitution with one Parliament which is sovereign whose right there is none to dispute. The Indian Constitution, on the other hand, is a written Constitution. It is also a Federal Constitution in which the Parliament is not supreme or sovereign in all matters, but has its powers limited and supremacy restricted only to those matters in which it is given exclusive jurisdiction or in regard to those which do not fall within the exclusive competence of the State Legislatures or concurrent competence of Parliament and the State Legislatures. No wonder that in interpreting it not only deep and wide knowledge of the British Constitution has to be requisitioned, but also acquaintance with our conditions, and above all the ingenuity which is so peculiar to India of simplifying complicated matters and reconciling conflicting ideas. We have therefore taken care to collect together in the Supreme Court from all over the country some of the best legal talent to occupy the Bench to dispense justice. They have so far fulfilled the expectations of all. I have no doubt in my mind that our Judges will continue to give satisfaction by their learning, integrity and impartiality.

The work of Judges is growing not only in quantity, but also in variety and there is hardly a day when a Judge is not required to undertake some work of a judicial or semi-judicial nature outside the precincts of his court room, and what is even more important, outside the subjects with which he is generally familiar. There is a demand in so many cases for the services of a Judge to pronounce on so many problems which arise from day to day. It must be said to their credit that even in these, their work has generally given satisfaction.

While there is general satisfaction with the quality of justice dispensed, we hear complaints in regard to one matter and that is delay in the disposal of disputes coming up before courts. Whether such delay is due to rules of procedure, to paucity of time, to shortage of personnel or to any other cause, there is no doubt that in many cases delay does occur and it is up to the legislators as well as judges to see to it that delay is reduced to the minimum. This delay occurs all along the line, from the preliminary stages right up to the highest Court of Appeal. It should not be taken lightly because justice delayed is in many cases justice denied. I believe vigilance and supervision could help in improving matters. I think also that the expenses of litigation should be reduced as far as possible. But whether it is a question of delay or a question of expenditure, the Bar no less than the Judges have to play their part, particularly in the peculiar circumstances of this country. We have evolved a system and procedure based largely on English practice and precedents and the law of evidence is derived more or less exclusively in this way. We have in the process introduced many artificial rules which do not fit in with conditions prevailing here. I have a feeling that a revision of the rules of evidence and procedure will conduce not only to reduction in time spent and expenses incurred but also to improvement in the quality of justice. It is not for me to make concrete suggestions and I content myself by throwing out the suggestion for the consideration of all concerned.

In maintaining the high standard the Bar plays no less important a part than the Judges. Moreover the Bar provides the field from which Judges are recruited and furnishes not an inconsiderable number of persons in public life and public service. It is, therefore, necessary to foster and strengthen it and I am glad there is ample provision for its accommodation within the stately building of the Supreme Court. That should be taken as a promise and guarantee of the interest taken by all in the welfare of the Bar.

Having been a member of that profession I naturally have a high regard for it and have no doubt that it will do its best to maintain the highest tradition of it.

In the welter of politics and political parties and ideologies the courts of justice furnish the one stable element and if they with the Supreme Court at the apex from which they should draw inspiration and sustenance continue to hold their own by

fair and just decisions and no less by their quick disposal of disputes, we can look forward with confidence to the future for steady growth and progress.

Humbly do I declare the portals of this Temple of Justice open and join the Chief Justice in his salutations and prayers for Divine Benediction.

FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE PEN.*

I am glad to have come here today to inaugurate the fourth International Convention of Pen-Friends. To all the delegates coming from foreign countries and from various parts of India, I extend a hearty welcome.

The Nations' League of Pen-Friends was constituted with the lofty ideal of promoting common brotherhood of mankind and to work, in its own way, for the establishment of world peace. This ideal is so high and so difficult to achieve that it is not easy to assess any single organisation's success or failure in achieving it. We have bigger, more resourceful and far more active organisations pledged to the establishment of peace and the promotion of goodwill among the nations. Even the biggest among them, the United Nations, could hardly claim that it is anywhere near achieving the said ideal. All that could be said is that the United Nations as also other similar bodies working for the establishment of peace and international goodwill are making earnest efforts in that direction. This by itself is no small thing. There is ample evidence that the desire for peace, for understanding and for the establishment of goodwill among nations is universal. Whatever the future might hold in store for the human race, there can be no doubt that this desire and the establishment of organisations for achieving it are a happy augury and a good beginning.

The Nations' League for Pen-Friends is one of such organisations. Friendships made from a distance through the medium of the pen may prove sometimes even more enduring than friendships by actual physical contact. Where the one is added to the other the result may be expected to be more exhilarating and more lasting. I value especially pen-friendship for this reason. Add to it the cultivation of common hobbies and occasional meets like the one we are participating in with all the variety of activities, entertainments and serious thinking, and we get a picture of the activities of the Nations' League of Pen-Friends. Its extent is indicated by the number of countries in which it has members and in which its activities have spread

*Inaugural address at the Fourth International Convention of Pen-Friends at New Delhi on August 4, 1958.

themselves out. Its method of work is unostentatious, yet it is effective and practical. To promote pen-friendship and cultivate friendly contacts by international circulation and exchange of views and their collection on a reciprocal basis is a right approach to the problem of international peace. I said just now that the ideal of the establishment of international peace and goodwill, the elimination of all causes of conflict and the avoidance of the use of force to settle them is a very lofty ideal. At the same time this ideal is so unavoidable that there is no escape from it, if humanity has to survive. Therefore, every effort, big or small, made for the achievement of this ideal is valuable and worthy of encouragement.

I am very happy to know that the Nations' League of Pen-Friends has been making steady progress and has branches working in many countries of the world. Its members can do a lot to foster the feeling of friendship between nation and nation and to strengthen it through simple exchange of messages, letters and information on a personal and reciprocal basis. The fact that the League has nothing to do with high politics and confines its activities to the social and literary sphere is not a disadvantage. On the other hand, I feel that in the context of the present-day situation it is a definite advantage. Politics somehow moves along the thorny path of controversy, whereas mutual contacts and friendship based on social values can always steer clear of controversy. Your league, therefore, need have no fear of any set-backs if its members are active and its branches in various countries are functioning properly. You have the additional advantage of drawing on men and women of all ages belonging to all walks of life. Let me hope the forum which the Nations' League of Pen-Friends provides and the pooling of international goodwill resulting from its activities will prove to be a stabilizing factor in international relationship, a factor making for harmony, goodwill and friendship for all.

Once again I welcome all the delegates, all those who have come to attend the fourth International Convention of the Nations' League of Pen-Friends and also those, who are here in connection with the Assembly of World Youth. I wish you godspeed and pray for your success.

I have great pleasure now to declare the fourth International Convention of the Nations' League of Pen-Friends open.

OPENING OF HOSTEL FOR WOMEN STUDENTS.*

Mr. Governor, Mr. Chief Minister, Mr. Education Minister, Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a matter of great pleasure to me to be associated with this function of declaring open this new hostel building of women students in the Presidency College. I congratulate the Government and the Presidency College as well as the Madras University on taking this decision to build a suitable and comfortable hostel for girl students and completing the building. If I have any complaint, it is that it has come rather late.

It has just been pointed out that the Presidency College was started as long ago as 1841 and it became a co-educational institution somewhere in 1889 and it has taken nearly 70 years for the University and the Government to establish a separate hostel for the girl students. But I am not surprised because although we have for some time recognised many kinds of rights, we have not been able either to successfully implement them or give facilities to those to whom they have been given to enjoy those rights. Equal rights in education and in other matters are given to our women of all sections and classes. But we know that it is easier to confer these rights in Constitution but difficult actually to implement them. That is why inspite of the fact that the Constitution conferred these rights some ten years ago, many of our people have not been able to enjoy them and realise them as a matter of fact.

But things are moving, and I should say, moving at a fairly rapid pace and we are hoping that a time will come when it will not be necessary to have a separate hostel for our girls and that boys and girls will live and study together as they are working together in offices, in factories and everywhere else, including the army where girls work with our men. I am not without hope that they will be able to acquaint themselves equally well in all those fields wherever their lot may take them.

Therefore anything done at this stage to further the education of women to bring them in line with men is always welcome and I am, therefore, happy to have this opportunity of declaring open this hostel which has been built at such a cost and with such enthusiasm by the Government and the University together.

I just saw the turn-out of the cadets as well as of the girl-guides and I must say I am much impressed by both and that

*Speech made while opening the Women Student's Hostel in the Presidency College at Madras on August 8, 1958.

gives us the hope that in other spheres also than in what are called purely women's vocations women will be able to do very well indeed. Then I would ask our women folk not to be carried away with the thought that we are praising them and that, therefore, they are in a position to enjoy these rights or they are capable of enjoying them even if the facilities are given to them. There are many weaknesses even among women. I should not have liked to hear the cheers from the back side where many of the girls are seated. The cheers should have come from the front bench. But unfortunately girls are after all girls, they are children still and they do not realise that it was for others to praise them and they should not praise themselves for their work.

As I have said, I am full of hope about the future. Here in this part of the country you have been fortunate because by and large you have been able to maintain good discipline amongst students and you have not witnessed many incidents of the kind which we witness elsewhere although I cannot say you too have been altogether free. I say by and large you have had better situation. Let me hope that you will maintain that tradition and improve upon it and in future you will be in a position to have better discipline. After all, discipline is necessary and the best discipline is that which proceeds from within and which is not forced from above. I am, therefore, quite sure that you will be able to maintain that discipline and I hope that will come from within and that can be done with better contact with teachers, professors and others who are your superiors. It is this contact which is now wanting in our educational institutions and the absence of this is responsible for much of the trouble which we now see in educational institutions necessitating the closure of some institutions for long periods.

This too I consider only to be a passing phase because after all our boys will understand the position, our girls will understand the position and they will realise where their real duties lie and they will be able to conduct themselves in such a way as to do credit to themselves and prove to be useful citizens of the country. After all, the future is theirs, and they have to prepare themselves to meet all contingencies which may arise.

I sometimes laugh within myself when I see political parties quarrelling among themselves. Some party does one thing and when the other party is in a position to do the same thing, that party also does the same thing and each blames the other for having done the same thing at one time or another. I do hope that will not happen in future because if they do anything

wrong at this stage, when they grow up, they will have their boys who will do the same thing and then they will realise their mistake in doing things which did not suit them and which did not suit their age. I can only hope that this realisation will come sooner and I do hope that this realisation does come soon. Because ~~after~~ all the country depends upon our young people—men and women and we have to see to it that they grow in an atmosphere which is full of nationalism, which is full of love for the country and for humanity. If they do not realise these things at this stage, they may go wrong later in life and it is, therefore, up to elders to imbibe these things in them so that they may come up to expectations when their time comes to take charge of the institutions and of the country.

I am happy that you have given me this opportunity of associating myself with this function and this similar opportunity of associating myself with this hostel. Let us hope this will prove to be a boon to the girl students and help them to grow to their proper stature. Thank you.

THE TRADITION OF SOCIAL SERVICE.*

Mr. Governor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

It is a matter of great pleasure for me to be able to have this opportunity of visiting the Seva Samajam Home. As has been pointed out by the previous speakers, I have visited your Home more than once before this and my interest has remained constant or rather it has gone on increasing. So there is no wonder if I take every opportunity, when I come this side, of paying a visit to your Home and getting myself acquainted with your work. I am happy to learn that you are making steady progress and not only in this town and the city but also in other places within the State and outside this State you have got similar Homes where little children are being taken care of.

In a big country like India where some kind of calamity is always coming, making numberless children as orphans with nobody to look after them, Homes of this kind are a necessity and I am glad that in this State of Madras you have been good enough to establish such Homes for the benefit of such children. What is even more interesting is this that you are training them in some useful art and craft so that when they grow, they are not to depend on others and are able to earn for themselves and live comfortably.

*Reply to the welcome address presented by the Seva Samajam at Pallapattu (Madras) on August 8, 1958.

You have told us how some of the children who have gone out of this Home have found jobs and are able to save something for them. I hope this aspect of your work will go on improving further so that such Homes become really educational institutions competing with others in their ability to render assistance to young men and women and to enable them to become good citizens of this country.

You have been fortunate enough to secure help not only from the people living in this State but also from outside. The Unitary Service of Canada has been good enough to give you not only monetary help but what is even more important, their moral support by taking interest in your work. I have no doubt that with this help and with the help that you are able to secure within the State, your work will go on increasing. I wish you more success in future and I wish all the young people who come under your care should become good and useful citizens so that when they grow up, they may remember the service which they receive, the help which they get from the Home and render similar help and service to people similarly placed in an unfortunate position.

It is one of our old traditions in this country to help helpless people and, as has been said, that used to be done on an individual basis more or less but now when everything is institutionalised, we have got institutions to serve various classes of people in various ways. It is one of the most necessary things which should be done now. We are satisfied with your work and thank you and congratulate you on the success you have achieved and wish you more success in future.

AT THE CANCER INSTITUTE.*

Mr. Governor, Dr. Muthulaxmi Reddi, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I am happy that I am able to pay a visit to this Institute. You have been good enough to remind me that it was in the Guindy Government House some years ago when we had a function in connection with the celebration of the Cancer Day that I became acquainted with your work and I expressed a hope that in course of time it will develop into a regular full-fledged institute which will be able to diagnose and treat cases of cancer. I am glad that hope of mine has been to a great extent fulfilled and today I have had the honour of opening a special block added to the previous blocks in this Institute.

*Speech made at the Cancer Institute, Adyar, Madras on August 8. 1958

As has been pointed out, cancer is a very painful disease. It lasts for a long time without being detected and when it is detected, it is too late to cure it. Therefore what is needed is early detection and for this purpose a well-equipped clinic is necessary. You have done well to provide such a clinic here—one provided with the latest kind of treatment for this terrible disease.

It is as prevalent in India as perhaps elsewhere in the world. Only we are too poor in most cases to be able to afford the very expensive treatment. Institutions like this which give treatment to poor and middle class people are a welcome addition to the numerous kinds of charitable institutions which exist in this country.

Dr. Muthulaxmi has given her life to social service for many many years and this clinic is the culminating service in her life for which not only this State but the whole country will be grateful to her. I hope that you will be able to increase not only the capacity but also the efficiency of the institute as time goes on.

I understand that you have got the method of treatment which we do not have anywhere for treatment of cancer and I am glad that you have also been able to add to the facilities by public donation and charity and I find that some of the donors are present and I congratulate them. More important than money are the examples of donation for such a laudable cause which they have placed before us.

In this country we require social service of various types and it can be social service in true sense when it is done with social support and does not depend for its existence and for its working on doles from the Government. It is good to have such institutions even on small scales. While the Government should not lag behind in doing its part, public charity should be attracted to such institutions and as far as possible it should support them.

We know sources of almost all public charity have been somehow or other dried up but in spite of all that there is none so poor who does not wish to give. Any one however poor he may be can give if only he wishes to spare something for such causes and any one however rich he may be cannot spare unless he so desires. So it is a matter of heart and not possession of wealth. There is a Persian proverb which means

wealth consists in possessing a rich heart and not in having riches and greatness lies not in years but in having wisdom". So, neither age nor riches make man either great or wealthy but it really is the possession of wisdom and possession of a rich and generous heart which makes man really great and wealthy. I am glad that an institution like yours is attracting support of wealthy people and charitable persons. I hope it will continue to get that kind of support and your institute will grow from strength to strength and will be able to do greater and greater service in future.

LOOK AFTER YOURSELF, TRY TO HELP OTHERS: ADVICE TO STUDENTS.*

Mr. Governor, Mr. Chief Minister, Students of Madras,—

I thank you very much for the honour you have done me and for the very kind words that you have spoken about me although much of it was undeserved.

You are right in thinking that the country needs the service of the best of us at the present moment. You have also rightly reminded me that it is necessary to do whatever each one of us can to keep the whole of it intact.

It is not only now that the thought of a united India has come to us. We have had it from time immemorial and our ancestors had so woven together all real things in life as to make it necessary for a northerner to visit the southernmost point and for a southerner to visit the northernmost point, for an easterner to visit the westernmost point and for a westerner to visit the easternmost point. At a time when communication was difficult, when travel was a question of life and death in many places, our ancestors devised ways and means for bringing together people of distant and different parts of the country and ever since history can record, we know that this country between the Himalayas and the Seas has been one undivided country although politically and administratively there have been divisions not only between the north and the south but between different parts of the south and between different parts of north *inter se*. Political and administrative division of this kind was only superficial because the life of the people went on smoothly in spite of political revolutions. Kings came and kings went, conquerors came and conquerors went, but the life of our people

*Address to the Madras college students, in the Presidency College Ground, on August 8, 1958.

went on smoothly, as smoothly as the Ganga or the Cauvery, and this could be so because our ancestors were wise enough to see and devise methods for keeping the whole country together.

Today we are in the fortunate position of having not only this cultural and social unity which has pervaded the whole country all these centuries but also the political unity of this country and today there is one government whose writ runs over the whole country, one parliament whose laws are obeyed throughout the country and there is one President for the whole country and above all there is one Constitution under which all the States of this Union function and work. So today we are in the fortunate position of adding this political and administrative unity which was lacking in the past to the social and cultural unity which has been always there.

Therefore it is all the greater responsibility of ours not only to maintain this unity but also to strengthen it and further it, if possible. I have no doubt that every Indian today whether he is living in a village or in a city, whether he is a youngman or an old man, man or woman, feels that this country of ours has resources in men and materials, in intelligence and capacity and is second to none in the world and it will some day or other come to occupy a position in the comity of nations which it deserves on its own merits and by its own dint of labour. We are therefore all the more required to work harder now, more diligently and I may add, more intelligently also to maintain this unity. We cannot rest on our oars.

The generation to which I belong is now passing out. Therefore soon the few that are left will have to join the majority and it will be the duty and the responsibility of younger people and some time later of you all to maintain and enhance this unity and strengthen the country and build up the India of the future. It is therefore necessary that students particularly should realise their responsibility.

You know there is a common saying, that a thing out of place is dirt. So a thing done out of time and out of place is also wrong. What I want you to understand is that as students you have your own work to do, your own responsibility to discharge and your own functions to perform. While you are in this condition, you have to concentrate all your energies, all your talents, all your diligence on preparing yourself for the task that lies ahead of you.

Our ancestors were wise in dividing the life of the individual into four parts. The first part was the part of preparation, the second was the life of the house-holder, the third part was the life of a person devoting himself to public service, to social service and the fourth was that part of the life which was meant for devotion to God. I think it was a wise division and it is as valid today as it was in the days gone by. You have therefore to devote yourself while you are in this period of life to prepare yourself for the very heavy responsibilities which are waiting for you. Do not be in a hurry. No dutiful son should be in a hurry to succeed his father even if his father is a bad father and so you young people have to prepare yourselves so that when your turn comes, you may give a good account of yourself so that your son can be told by you to await his own time because what you are doing today your sons will do in their own time and I am quite sure you are going to have sons and daughters. Both sons as well as daughters will do what you do today and therefore I ask you to so shape your life as to be a model for them.

In this country there is so much to do, there are so many opportunities and occasions to be of help and service that there should be no difficulty in choosing what is the best for you. Therefore the foremost thing for you is to prepare yourselves. I do not say that students should keep out of politics. Politics has to be studied because it covers a large part of our life. It has to be carefully pondered over and you will have to make up your mind on questions which come up from day to day for consideration of the more elderly people on whom the responsibility rests today. But it is quite a different thing to go out of schools and colleges and take part in what is called party politics. That is to say, you have to decide for yourselves under inspiration or without inspiration from others as to what line you have to take to force this man or that man, to do this thing or that thing.

I feel that the best way of service is to render service that you think best from your own point of view and leave it to others to fulfil their part and not consider as part of your duty to force the hands of others to do what is their duty. If we learn that each one of us should perform one's duty, the whole range of duty will be performed. But if we try to force each other, a great part of our energy will be cancelled against each other and instead of advancing the cause which we want to advance,

we shall only be retarding it. It is a simple arithmetical problem that if you put all the forces on one side and pull one way you will go a great deal. On the other hand if you divide your forces and pull in different directions progress will be very much less if any at all. We know that you have energies, plenty of time to study things, to prepare yourselves for further action when time comes.

This State I think is fortunate, more fortunate than some other parts of the country, because I know you have not had as much trouble as other parts. I congratulate you on that and I am glad I have heard it reported that the leaders of various parties here have come to a gentlemen's understanding not to tempt young people to take their sides prematurely at this age but to leave it to you, when your time comes, to do what you think best, to make up your own minds. I think that is a wise decision which can be mutually adopted by leaders of parties in other parts of the country also. I hope it will be adopted.

Not that you have to do nothing except reading your books. I was not very much of a reader myself and I think students have time at their command which can be utilised by way of social service or some other kinds of service in which they may be interested. There are numerous institutions in the cities and even more so in villages which have to be supported because they serve the needs of the people living there and I ask you to find out opportunities of service and devote yourselves to them.

It is not by way of gaining influence for the purpose of establishing yourselves in public life that I recommend it, but I want you to take and accept that kind of work as a course of preparation so that you can get habituated to think of others, to work for other people and you can get habituated to do things which do not immediately and strictly touch you but which touch others and help others.

I remember as a young person going about in the streets, as you too must be going about now and then. You come across a betel-nut shop or Bidi shop or a cigarette shop. You may happen to have some Naye Paise in your pocket. You see also in front of you a poor decrepit old beggar asking for help and the question presents itself to you—Will you purchase Bidi or will you give it to the poor old decrepit man? If you decide in favour of giving it away to the poor old man, I assure you you have taken a big step in your life. It is the first step

in your life which will gradually grow into a habit. Not that Naye Paise will not actually carry you anywhere but it just instils in you a habit and you will learn how to part with Paise for other people and for other purposes than your own needs and fulfilment of your own selfish desires. That is a thing which has to be acquired at this stage and social service is a useful thing not because this service itself is valuable—it is valuable no doubt, but it is more useful and more desired because it instils the habit of service in young men. I ask you to be on the lookout for such occasions and whenever you get them, you should not let them go without taking advantage of them.

It is not necessary for me to point out to you the various kinds of things which may come in your way. There may be an orphanage which requires your help. There may be social service organisations which require your service.

We are all now busy with and engaged in the big enterprise of building up the new India and that requires the help of everybody without regard to party affiliation, without regard to age, sex, class or creed and in a matter like that you can render such service as you find it possible for you to render and for which you consider yourselves fitted.

Take for examples the plans for raising money for the big projects which we are having, not raising money by subscription but inducing people to save money and invest it in them. It serves both the purposes. It serves the individual to save and the money is utilised for national purpose and you as individuals going about, mixing with various classes of people can as a side activity take to that and do your best to help it.

Similarly there are any number of activities in which you can associate yourselves and I assure you that anything that you do in this line will go to build your character. We need in India nothing more than the need for good strong and sturdy character. Man without character cannot do much for himself, much less can he do for others. Today when we have attained independence, we need this character more than we ever needed it before.

So, as I have told you, time for work and sacrifice has not gone. It is still there and as I have often said, that kind of devoted service is required more now than when we were engaged in the national struggle. It is in a sense more diffi-

cult also because in those days we had an excitement which sometimes is very helpful in making people do things which they otherwise would not do in cooler moments. Today there is no such excitement. On the other hand everything appears to be more or less normal and it is all the more necessary that people devote themselves to the silent labour for the country. You will be doing greater service to yourselves and to the country if you prepare yourselves for your own day and in the meantime prepare yourselves by equipping yourself which will enable you to render greater service in the future.

I thank you once again for all the good words you have said about me and for your kindness.

MEDICINE AND THE MILK OF HUMAN KINDNESS.*

Mr. Governor, Mr. Chief Minister, Hon'ble Minister of Health,

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

It is a matter of deep gratification to me that I am able to come here and take part in this function. This is my third visit, if not the fourth, to the city of Tanjore but I must confess that this is the first occasion when I have been able to give as much time as I have done today and to see something of the city here. It is also a matter of gratification to me that it excites you with the noble object of founding a medical college here.

You have just heard the history of the college and the hospital which will be attached to it which goes back to a pretty long time and you are no doubt all familiar with the service this institution has so far rendered. I have no doubt also that in future when this college begins to function as an institution, it will serve to turn out men and women not only qualified technically to do the work which they are expected to do but they will also have enthusiasm for work and capacity for devotion to the service of the suffering people.

There is need undoubtedly in this country as in many others for these ideas, sacrificing spirit and sincere devotion to relieve suffering and institutions like the one of which I am laying the foundation-stone here are places where they are turned out and where they can imbibe both the technical spirit and the right spirit of service.

I have often felt that in the medical profession more than in any other profession the milk of human kindness should run through the every vein that adopts that profession and I also believe that it is not so much the medicine as the goodwill and sincere devotion of men of medical profession which inspires the patient and which cures him. Medicine of course has its value and does its work but medicine cannot prove as effective as the former very often does. I therefore lay emphasis whenever it is possible on this human aspect, this moral and spiritual aspect of this noble profession. There are ways of earning money which a man can adopt to somehow make two ends meet, and there is no profession nobler than this even from that point of view. But apart from the money making part of it, it is really a profession that starts with healing and ends with healing.

I realise that you all are sitting on wet ground and there is drizzle from above and so you are exposed from both sides. I do not like to detain you longer. I wish the institution all the success and I am sure that with the help of the Government, goodwill of the people and enthusiasm of the staff it will turn out really good and helpful doctors who will render true service in true spirit to all kinds of sufferers.

I desire to thank you and the people for all the kindness shown to me since I arrived here. I am grateful to the Municipality and to others including the Bishop for the good wishes which they have expressed in so many ways. I thank the members of the Municipal Board for their kind address which unfortunately it has not been possible on account of rain to read out here but which, I have no doubt, is full of good wishes for me and I thank you all once again for your kindness.

NEED FOR CLOSE CONTACT BETWEEN TEACHER AND STUDENTS.*

When I was first approached by Shri Ramaswami in Delhi only a few days ago to pay a visit to this institution, on which occasion he gave me an account of what he had been able to do and what was being done in this institution, I readily agreed subject only to time being available, and as I was coming this way, it was felt that I might spare a few minutes to come and have a look at this institution, and more, look at the children who are receiving education here. That wish of mine has been

*Speech made at the Seethalakshmi Ramaswami College, Tiruchirappalli, on August 10, 1958.

fulfilled, and I am only hoping that in future, when these young students who are receiving instruction here grow up to womanhood, they would be able to give a good account of themselves.

At the present moment, our educational institutions are in a somewhat difficult position. Very largely on account of lack of resources, the kind of education we would like to impart to our boys and girls cannot be imparted in the way in which we would wish it to be imparted and the result is that in many places we see a certain amount of unrest and a certain amount of indiscipline amongst the young people which should not be there. I do not blame the young people, I cannot blame others also. I can only blame the circumstances in which such things have become possible in a country where respect for the Guru has been traditional and where respect for elders also has been equally a tradition for centuries. In the olden days our children used to go and live with the Guru who would not only teach them but also feed them and support them while the children were with him; and it was only when they finished their education and were leaving the place that the children had to give something by way of Gurudakshina.

Those days are now gone. Parents have now to find money from the moment children go to school and the expenses nowadays have grown tremendously. So it has become more and more difficult for men to educate their children and for institutions also to maintain the number of teachers and the quality of teachers required for giving the correct kind of education. The result is want of contact of the kind which actually impressed young people, and it is for this reason that I welcome institutions where children are brought in direct contact with elderly people, with their teachers and professors. By this contact they develop in themselves habits which are so valuable in later life. I hope your institution will serve that purpose. Let us hope that these young people will fulfil all these hopes and expectations and let us hope that they will give a good account of themselves in their later life.

I thank you for the honour and opportunity which you have given me. I wish all success to this institution and even more so to the boys and girls who are here or who may not be here but who are connected with this institution.

RESEARCH IN AGRICULTURE—KEY TO BETTER PRODUCTION.*

I am glad that I have had this opportunity of paying a visit to this institute this afternoon. We have research institutes of various types all over the country and there is no doubt that most of them are doing good and useful work. But coming as I do myself from a village, I feel that something done to improve agriculture stands far higher in importance and in its essential value than anything else that we can do in this country; and that is because, in spite of the great strides being made to advance the country industrially, we still have something between 70 per cent. and 80 per cent. of the population not only dependent upon agriculture but a great part of it actually engaged in agriculture. Agriculture is not only the biggest single item of producing wealth in this country: it is also the biggest single item of finding employment for millions in this country, and however great the progress may be which we may achieve within any foreseeable future, one cannot hope to see agriculture displaced by anything else either in its wealth producing capacity or job finding quality. From both points of view therefore, anything that you can do here or anything that can be done anywhere in the country to improve agriculture should be doubly welcome. I am therefore very happy to be associated with this function.

As you have pointed out, Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, this institute has a brilliant history extending over some fifty years and within that period it has achieved results which have been of great significance not only to this State but to the whole of India. I come from a part of the country where sugarcane is the principal crop and I know how the researches carried on here were able to discover new strains of sugarcane which were accepted and adopted by agriculturists all over the country.

It is ordinarily but I think wrongly believed that our agriculturists are very conservative and that it is not possible to introduce changes either in their methods or in their lives. I believe that is a wrong statement because, taking the sugarcane for example, I can say from personal experience that in our parts, when the new strain was introduced—and actually some farmers made experiments with the new type of sugarcane—it did not take long for others to follow them and to adopt the new strain, and within two or three years—I think not more than five years—there was hardly a single sugarcane found in the whole State

*Speech made while laying the foundation-stone of the Regional Post-Graduate Agricultural Research Institute, Coimbatore, on August 10, 1958.

which was of the old variety. Your researches also went on side by side and the result was that it was not one quality which was discovered but qualities differed from year to year almost and new varieties came into vogue almost every year and we found that the agriculturists were equally prepared to change to the new variety as soon as it was found that it was a good variety and would give better yield. There of course the sugarcane is sold to factories and there are two things which our agriculturists have to take into consideration in growing a particular variety. The factory owner tests the sugar content of the cane and the agriculturist wants the weight of the sugarcane because it is purchased by the factory by weight, and so they were able between themselves to decide which was the variety best suited to that particular area; and as I have said, they did not take any time in adopting new varieties as soon as they were convinced that the new variety was better from their point of view.

I am not sure the same thing can be said about many other crops, at any rate in our parts—paddy, or maize or wheat; they are some of our important crops. Some research has been carried on, I believe, in respect of these, but I am not sure if the result of these researches have gone to the same extent as researches in the case of sugarcane. It is possible that the results were not so very spectacular and therefore they did not catch. It is possible that the results of these researches have not been carried to the actual cultivator in the field. It is possible that the method of cultivation required for new varieties is different and perhaps beyond the resources of the ordinary cultivator. Whatever the reason may be, it must be confessed that in the case of other crops, the same progress has not been reached in introducing new varieties as in the case of sugarcane, and that I would suggest, is one of the things which your research workers could take into consideration. As I have said, I am speaking only from the experience of one part of the country. It is possible that here conditions are different and here you have been able to induce cultivators to introduce new varieties of other crops also, and it is possible that here they have been convinced of the value of introducing new varieties and may have actually adopted them. If that is so, you should be able to pass on your experience and the results of your experiments to other States also so that they might also profit by them as they did profit by the researches in sugarcane.

As I have said, agriculture is the mainstay of this country and it is going to remain so. Is it not therefore a strange

phenomenon that in a country which is agricultural, which has land which is fertile, which has got wide resources which should be ample, and which has also got experience of centuries if not of millennia behind its agriculture, we should still be wanting to import foodgrains from other countries and we should still be compelled to look to other countries to feed our population. But that is an unfortunate fact which we cannot ignore, and even today whenever our Food Minister, who is also the Agriculture Minister, has to speak, he speaks more about import of food than anything else. It is really a matter of pain for us that in this country we should be required to look to other countries to feed our population. We should be able at least to feed ourselves, if not to feed others in other countries. The way in which these researches are carried on will be the measure of success which we attain in this direction, because after all we have got to raise the yield per acre. You may have prizes won by people who are able to raise a tremendously high yield. That may be like a race-horse which wins races but which cannot draw your bullock-cart or carriage.

Every agriculturist, whether he has 3 or 5 acres or even a quarter of an acre, should be able to grow more than he does today, and unless that is done, our food problem will not be solved. We cannot forget the fact that in this country we have millions of people who are engaged in agriculture. It is not a country in which there are farms where only a limited number of people are to be approached, and who are also educated, who have also resources to introduce farming with improved methods of cultivation, improved varieties of seeds and also commanding plenty of irrigation. We have to deal with millions of people with very small holdings.

I do not know what the average holding here is, but there are places, certainly in my province where the average per head would not exceed $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre, and where the average holding will not be more than say 2 to 3 acres per family. We have to deal with a population of that type and a problem of that type. How are you going to reach all these millions of people? How are you going to teach them about the best and latest methods of cultivation? Where are you going to find the resources? We have therefore to be on the ground to be able to see what their needs are and how those needs can be met not only by the rich but by the poorest, and then alone will the researches be successful when every cultivator, even though he may be a small cultivator, is able to pro-

duce, say, 2 maunds where he produced only 1½ or 1 maund today. That is the problem and I believe it can be solved not only by big people but by ordinary small tillers. Even the biggest amongst us has to become small enough to be able to appreciate the difficulty of the small man and we have to place ourselves in his position so that we may discover the means and methods which will be available to him and which he can adopt without any difficulty.

That is one of the problems which face the country and I believe your Research Institute which I am quite sure, has been doing splendid work, will always keep itself stuck to the ground, for if there is anything in which you have to stick to the ground, it is agriculture. Literally I am a metropolitan and I hope your research students, scholars and professors will pay special attention to this aspect of it, and I have no doubt that with all the experience which they have gathered and the work which they have to their credit, and with all the enthusiasm with which they have been working and they can command, they will be able to solve this problem.

Let me hope that when I come next, and I hope it will not be very long—you would be able to show me something which will satisfy these needs and which will be helpful in solving the problem of food for the country. I need hardly assure you how gratified I am by what I have seen. Our agriculture, as you know, depends very largely on our cattle. Here in this country with the average of a few acres, I do not know how we are going to introduce mechanization. We shall have to depend upon the bullock, may be also buffalo, but certainly upon the bullock for any foreseeable future, and unless we improve the quality of our bullock side by side with the methods of agriculture, unless we improve the instruments of agriculture which our bullock will be capable of using, we cannot make much headway in agriculture. The agriculturist and his bullock should be able to use the new methods, and therefore I am glad you are not confining your activities only to the improvement of the crops and the fruits and herbs, but you are also trying to improve the breed of your cattle, and there I should like to say one thing.

During the last sixty or seventy years or hundred years, during the British period, the emphasis was on improving the breed of cattle which will give more milk, because in other

countries, particularly in England, bullocks are not used for cultivation purposes. The cow is used only for milk and the British people were largely interested in only milk and therefore all their researches and attention were confined to improving the milk yield of the cow. They were not much interested in the calf. The result was phenomenal. There has been great improvement in the milk yield, but what we need is not only milk, but also a strong calf, a strong bullock and therefore we need breeds which can serve both purposes, which can give us good milk and good bullock to do the work of drawing the plough and of carrying loads on the bullock cart.

You will no doubt be thinking on those lines, and if side by side with the improvement of agriculture, you can also improve the breed of cattle, of the cow and the bullock which will serve both purposes, namely, the purpose of yielding good milk as well as draught cattle, you will have achieved a great thing, and you will have served not only agriculture, but will also helped the people. By and large in this country, even those who have no objection to non-vegetarian food, are also vegetarian because meat is not as common in this country as in other countries. Therefore here, one important source of nourishment is milk and milk products and for that purpose the cow has to be improved so that she may give us better milk and more milk, and as I have said, she should also be able to give us better bullocks, so that while on one side, it will contribute to lessening the deficiency in our nutrition, on the other side, it also will help to increase the other items of food, namely grains, fruits and other things. If we go on improving in all these directions, we shall have all round development and our agriculture will then become most profitable.

I am happy that you have given me this opportunity of inaugurating this Institute and of laying the foundation-stone. I am quite sure in course of time you will be able to show the same kind of fruitful results as you have done in the past and will be in the vanguard of progress in all matters concerning agriculture. I thank you.

BRIDGING THE GULF BETWEEN EDUCATED AND COMMON PEOPLE.*

It is a matter of great pleasure to me to be able to fulfil the promise which I made to you and to myself many years ago.

*Speech made at the Ramakrishna Vidyalaya, Perianaickenpalayam, on August 11, 1958.

I was to have come and came as far as Coimbatore, but unfortunately on account of ill health, I could not visit the institution and went away from Coimbatore. So this time when my programme was made and Coimbatore was included in that programme, I felt I could not go away without seeing you even for a few minutes and so I am here.

For the last few minutes that I have been here, I have seen something of your institution and I can only say that I have seen more than I had first known. The institution is growing. I came here some six or seven years ago. That was for a few minutes on that occasion also. I think it has grown very much since then and I believe it is growing from day to day. So it is not at all surprising that I should see more than I had expected.

You have the advantage of a great name associated with this institution and you have also the advantage of having a good selfless worker who is devoting all his time to this institution. Apart from these you have also the support of the public and no wonder that this is one of the most distinguished institutions that we have in the country because it is entirely built in rural surroundings and on rural ideas. In this country we need education which is fitted with the life of the people and for that purpose what is needed is close contact between the people and the villages. That you can get only when you have institutions in villages. Most of the colleges are situated in towns and the result is that those who receive education there are cut off from life in the villages and there is a widening gulf between the educated and uneducated people in the country.

That gulf has to be bridged and bridged by a class of people who will be educated in the most modern sense of the term and who will be at the same time rural minded. That you are trying to create here. That is a matter of gratification to me and I am hoping that in no distant future you will grow into a fullfledged rural university and then you will have achieved what probably the organisers of this institution may have hoped for. It is not a very difficult or impossible task, but it is no doubt a task which will require devotion and care and that you will get abundantly from your organisers. I have been very much struck with the pupils, both boys and girls here, who are making good use of their time and are quite happy and cheerful. That is what we want. We want people who are serious in their work and duties. I do not want to take more of your time. I wish you all success. I can only say: go ahead with courage in heart and faith in your work.

BANGALORE'S HORTICULTURAL SHOW.*

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am grateful to you all for having given me an opportunity of witnessing this Flower Show and participating in the distribution of prizes for the best exhibits. Our country needs not only foodgrains but also fruits and vegetables and it is for this reason that importance is attached to fruits and vegetables also. It is unfortunate that in many parts of the country the attention that should be given to these is not actually given. You have therefore to be congratulated on the work that has been done here in this State in connection with improvement not only of foodgrains but also of fruits and vegetables. I remember there used to be a very well-known Dairy Farm at Bangalore about thirty years ago when I visited this place with Gandhiji, and in those days one of your cows, the name of which I forget now, was regarded as one of the best milching cows in the whole country.

So you have had rare experiments made in all directions and you have also had the good fortune of having had a succession of enlightened rulers and dewans who had given all possible encouragement to these and other needs which are of importance in life. It is therefore interesting to learn that this Garden of yours has been in existence for nearly hundred years and was responsible for the growth of consciousness among the people in regard to horticulture and also vegetable culture. You have done well to organise this Exhibition on such a scale and to distribute so many prizes for flowers, fruits and vegetables. I have got an opportunity not only of seeing something of what is being done in your agricultural colleges and research institutes but also collected together in one place the fruits and the results of what is being done there. As I have said, India needs food as any other country does but what is to be emphasised is that by and large we are vegetable-eating people and even those who have no religious or other objection to eating meat do not eat meat often. Many cannot afford it, and many for some reason or other even if they can afford it, do not take it regularly. Although we cannot say that we are a vegetarian country, strictly speaking we live mostly on vegetables and vegetable products.

*Speech on the occasion of the Horticultural Show and the Distribution of prizes at Lal Bagh, Bangalore, on August 13, 1958.

It is for this reason necessary that we should pay attention to our agriculture, horticulture and fruit culture. But unfortunately in spite of being a large agricultural country and despite agriculture being the largest single sector returning the highest revenue and providing employment to a large number of men, women and even children, our country even now has to depend upon imports of foodgrains. That I regard as a matter of shame for us. But it is a matter which need not frighten us because it can be made good if with some difficulty. It arises not because of the difficulty of the task itself, but because of the large number of people to be approached for telling them to do what is necessary. If you have any interest in agriculture, millions have to be enthused. Our land holdings are small and therefore the resources of cultivators are limited. They cannot employ machinery, because they cannot afford it and because their holdings are too small. Therefore, we have to depend on bullock power and improvement of the breed of milch cows and draught cattle is very necessary.

I am happy that you have taken so much interest in this Exhibition. I am told that there are more than 600 kinds of flowers exhibited here. I have a prejudice in favour of sweet-smelling flowers, even though they may not have a very good look. There are people who attach greater importance to the beauty of flowers. While I do not wish to make it a compulsion for all, I can say it is better to attend more to inward goodness than to outward beauty whether it be human beings, animals, flowers or vegetables. It is much better to combine both as in flowers. but where combination is not possible, it is better to attach more importance to inward good than to outward beauty.

Whenever I come to Bangalore I receive so many flowers that I go fathoms deep beneath them. At one time I expressed the view that it was a waste to have so many gardens and flowers because after all they will all fade away very soon; but then I was reminded that there were many men and women whose sole occupation was growing flowers and making gardens and they would be without employment if no proper encouragement was given. So I acceded to the gift of flowers.

I wish to congratulate all the members of the Exhibition Committee and those who have contributed to the success of this Exhibition. I hope and pray that they will keep on improving the standard of the exhibits in the years to come. I must say a man like me coming from a distant part of the

country naturally envies you for the skill you have shown in flowers and for the value you attach to them. I am therefore happy that I have had this opportunity of meeting you all and of seeing the beautiful collection of flowers, flowers both useful and showy. I thank you all.

DEVANAGARI SCRIPT FOR OTHER INDIAN LANGUAGES.*

You have raised a very important and interesting question. Fifty years ago I happened to be associated in Calcutta with a movement called Ek Lipi Vistar Parishad, which also stood for the adoption of Devanagari script by all the Indian languages. Shri Sharada Charan Mittar, a renowned scholar of Sanskrit and Bengali, was the leader of that movement. Shri Mittar brought out a journal called "Devanagar" which published articles and stories in various Indian languages, but all of them in Devanagari script. That movement continued for some time, but in course of time it lost its force and with that the Lipi Vistar Parishad also disappeared. However, my interest in this question has never flagged ever since.

But that was an old story. In recent times I was able to persuade our Members of Parliament, many of whom included Hindi lovers and scholars, to revive "Devanagar" as a quarterly journal. This journal is still in existence. In addition to publishing articles in other languages in Devanagari script, the "Devanagar" also gives Hindi translations of those articles. I think no better way could be devised for encouraging the learning of regional languages by Hindi knowers and the picking up of Hindi by those who do not know it. Highly important and of great significance as this work is, unfortunately it has not so far been able to gather the momentum it should have.

There are some people who advocate the adoption of Roman script for all Indian languages, including Hindi. But that is a different question, and I would not like to go into the pros and cons of it at this time. For the present we should content ourselves with making an all-out effort to popularise the Devanagari script and to see how far it could be adopted by writers of the regional languages. Once this work is started in right earnest, I do not think it would be looked upon as so difficult or untenable.

*Address to the deputation of the Bharatiya Devanagari Parishad at Bangalore, on August 14, 1958.

I remember more than half a century ago when I was a student, most of the Bengalis who desired to study Sanskrit always preferred to read text-books printed in Devanagari script, although Bengalis are so deeply attached to their mother tongue. The fact that most of the Sanskrit literature in the country is available in Devanagari script can be depended upon to provide a fillip to this movement.

There is another thing to which I would draw your attention. Although we have different scripts, the arrangement of vowels and consonants in all the languages is the same. This holds good not only in case of Indian regional languages but also about the languages spoken in Burma, Thailand, etc., where Pali has had great influence. The case of China is different as instead of letters they have heliographs in their language. But in most of the other countries in the East the arrangement of letters follows the Devanagari pattern.

I would suggest that a beginning in this respect is made in the South, because the script prevalent in the North and Western India are either Devanagari itself or akin to it. The script used for writing Gujerati, for example, is more or less the same as the Hindi script. Nor is there much difference between the Devanagari script and the Bengali and Oriya script. I am, however, of the view that this work cannot be undertaken in a casual way. It has to be done methodically and for it a proper organisation has to be set up. For doing so you can certainly depend upon my help and good offices.

The Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha is also doing a lot for the propagation of Hindi in the South, but if it could take up the cause of the Devanagari script also, the utility of its work will be enhanced manifold. That will also go a long way in breaking the back of our language problem. I am very glad that you have already established an organisation for carrying out this work in the South. I would like to congratulate you on this and assure you of my best help and support in your undertaking.

INDIAN LANGUAGES LIKENED TO BOUQUET OF FLOWERS.*

I thank you for the honour you have done me by giving me this address of welcome. I should have pointed out that

*Speech made at the Kannada Sahitya Parishat, Chamaraipet, Bangalore, on August 14, 1958.

I do not know Kannada and therefore I am not able, either to follow the speech or the recital of song that has just been given in original. I am able however to appreciate the music and the recital and I congratulate you on having not only a Parishat of this kind but also a house suited to its requirements and built at great cost. You have said you have been carrying on this Parishat since 1915, that is for well over 40 years. Institutions like this serve a very useful purpose in maintaining a certain standard and in adding to the store of knowledge and also in promoting exchange of ideas amongst those who are interested in the literary efforts of the language.

We have in India quite a number of languages and our Constitution has given them equal recognition. It is also committed to the growth and promotion of each one of these languages. I am therefore happy whenever I find an opportunity of meeting people interested in any particular language and carrying on work in that connection. You have also been making similar efforts. I can assure you that in whatever you are doing, you have the support and the sympathy of the Government of India and of the State Governments: because we know that in spite of differences of language, the country as a whole is one. We have had different languages since time immemorial. We have our different customs: our modes of life also differ in some respects: but fundamentally the country has been one and we want to maintain that unity by giving the fullest opportunity to each to develop in its own way and to make as much progress as it can with the help and support of others. I believe the languages of India constitute a bouquet of flowers, all of them of different kinds, colours and scents. Each one has a peculiarity of its own with its own peculiar features, and all bound and tied together produce an effect which is unique. Therefore if any one of them is allowed to wither away or in any way to diminish in its lustre or in its other quality, the whole bouquet suffers. So also, our country has many different languages and if anyone of them suffers, all the languages suffer. It is, therefore, necessary that all the languages should grow side by side and at the same time they should help each other.

It is not always easily understood how the literature of one language or the growth of one language helps others, but those who are engaged in the task of studying the literatures of other languages know, and even casual readers know to what extent

the literature of one language actually influences the writers of other languages. I do not know any of the South Indian languages, but I can say about, say, Bengali or Hindi that Bengali has influenced Hindi literature very considerably, and similarly I believe there has been evidence of one South Indian language having had its influence on another South Indian language. Not only that, but through the medium of Sanskrit which has been the basis of all these languages, there has been constant inter-change of ideas and inspiration from one language to another, throughout the country. You are therefore engaged in very good work and I wish to congratulate you on the work you have been doing. I wish you success in your efforts so that Kannada language may grow along with other languages.

SOCIAL WELFARE PROJECT.*

I am pleased to see the good work that has been already accomplished. The Bharat Sevak Samaj has been founded with the object of co-ordinating the activities of all welfare institutions and social service institutions which are working in this country in an unofficial way, and the Samaj has in that respect already succeeded in establishing branches in most of the States and sub-branches in different parts of every State. Its work has been going on smoothly and I must also say the progress is good. Where it has been able to secure the services of people who are devoted to the work and are enthusiastic about it, progress has been more than at other places. I am glad your State has been fortunate in securing the services of selfless workers and you have acquitted yourselves well. Not only the various other organisations but also the associations of graduated women, who after having received their own training in the colleges and university, are now devoting themselves to social service work within their own respective spheres.

This is all very good and I wish that your efforts bear fruit and you may go on making further progress. You have expressed the hope that your efforts will be seconded by the Government both here and at the Centre as well as by the public. I have no doubt you will get that support and I might tell you that the support also will be consistent with the work that you do. If your work progresses as it is doing today, I

*Speech made at the Pilot Social Welfare Extension Project in Bangalore on August 14, 1958.

have no doubt that you will get ample support both from the Local Government and from the Central Government, and charitably disposed philanthropists are not wanting here in the city or in this State who will come forward to give all possible assistance to you. Let me hope that with the enthusiasm of workers and with the support of the Government and the public, you will go on progressing from day to day and realise the high aims and ideals which the Samaj has set before itself. Thank you.

GANDHIJI'S WORKS IN KANNADA.*

It gives me great pleasure to be present here this morning and to participate in the function which I believe will prove highly useful in the future. Mahatma Gandhi has left behind him his writings which will cover I cannot say how many volumes, but something like 40 or 50 volumes. The great thing about Mahatma Gandhiji is that he never sat down to write out a thesis or work on philosophy or religion. He had certain principles to which he held fast and whenever any problem presented itself before him, he thought out the solution in the light of those principles. The problems that came up before him were innumerable. They ranged from a small trouble amongst workers in a distant village and in connection with which his advice was sought, right up to the problem of how to deal with the mighty British Empire. In between lay all kinds of problems and questions which afflicted mankind, and Gandhiji had to find answers to all these problems, not because he was anxious to find solutions but because he was approached by individuals or faced by circumstances to find a solution for them, and it was in this way that he dealt with all questions from all points of view. In this country we have our religious and cultural problems: we then had also the big political problem: then there were problems of health, sanitation, games and sports—all kinds of problems, together with the British problem. It did not take him long to come to a conclusion about all those problems. Mahatma Gandhi was not a man to stick to consistencies. Whenever he felt that a particular step was not strictly correct, in the face of the particular circumstances existing then, he never hesitated to recall the step, and we know of several Himalayan blunders as he called them, in his move-

*Address at the Town Hall, Bangalore, on August 14, 1958.

ment. It is therefore a great thing if you can have in a collected form his writings placed before our people. What he wrote was mostly in Gujarati and English and also in Hindi. Many of the works have been translated into other Indian languages, and I am glad you have taken the trouble to bring out a translation of the most important works which will enable persons to study his thoughts. He would see things from different angles and different points of view: and therefore if you take the thing as a whole, you will be able to arrive at an appreciation of what his thought was. But more than logic, more than language, both of which are of a high order, what is contained in his writings is action in the movement at the time of active participation, in the life of the individual as well as of the community. He was experimenting with truth, experimenting with the big movement of the people, and as in all experiments, sometimes something happens which could have brought out unforeseen or undesirable consequences. To one thing he attached the greatest importance and that was never to go against basic principles which he had adopted, namely, truth and non-violence.

I am therefore very happy to be associated with the release of the publication of the first two volumes which you have brought out, and I hope that according to schedule you will be able to place in the hands of the Kannada-speaking people his entire writings. I congratulate the Committee on the work it has accomplished. With these words, I declare the release of the first two volumes.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

It is a great pleasure for me to be able to meet you this morning after completing the ceremonial parade. You know the ceremonial parade signifies the attainment of independence by our country and it reminds not only the armed forces that take part in it, but also others of the great responsibilities which independence has brought on to us.

To you, young people, I give this advice, that you should learn to be proud of your great heritage. We in our age, were not so fortunate as you are because we were not then free. You

*Address to students of different colleges in Bangalore on Aug. 15, 1958.

are living in a free country and that is a heritage that I ask you to be proud of. But it also brings with it profound responsibilities. We should be proud of our cultural unity which in spite of political revolution and upheaval, has enabled to keep together the people right from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas and from Gauhati to Gujarat, from west to east and north to south. To that heritage of cultural unity we have added now another thing which binds us together by political and administrative unity, and today we are all living under one rule, under one government having one Constitution and having only one President to represent the country, whether we are in the north, south, east or west. That is a great thing to be proud of.

We had been fortunate to have had the opportunity of serving, of sacrificing for the country; we had the good fortune of having struggled for freedom: we had the good fortune to be able to devote ourselves to the service of the people in a way which perhaps may not be appreciated now. But you have now the responsibility of preserving freedom. Freedom is a very jealous mistress. We have not been able completely to consolidate the freedom that we have won because now and then we hear of incidents here and there which cause anxiety and create doubt in the minds of people about our ability in preserving our hard-earned freedom. A great opportunity awaits you to make your own contribution to make the freedom secure, to stabilise the position in the country and to earn greater and greater honour for the country.

There is a good deal of work which requires service and sacrifice, and although the kind of work has altered, the quality or the quantity has not altered and you require the same kind of devoted and selfless service as previously when we struggled for freedom. We also require greater sacrifice in new India, and for that every son and daughter of India has to make a contribution towards the great cause which India represents. You young people cannot do better than remember your great responsibilities and prepare yourselves for the great struggle

When I see young people all over the country making themselves useful citizens whether in the social or other fields of service, I feel happy. Even what may be called their misbehaviour in some parts of the country are not to be taken very seriously and I do not take it so very seriously because that implies they have some kind of energy in them and that requires to be directed into useful channels in the good interests of the people and the country as a whole. I wish you all success in

your studies, but I wish you to acquire apart from knowledge, and indeed more than knowledge, character. We know too little of ourselves, and what I want is that each one of us should work to know himself or herself. Instead of trying to find fault with others, we should first try to find the fault with ourselves.

I would therefore ask you to be always conscious that others are equally liable to go wrong as yourselves do sometimes and you have no right to find fault with others only. You have to find fault with yourselves and correct yourselves. Do not become the monitor always. I can assure you that when the time comes, you will be able to give a good account of yourselves if you follow my advice.

I am very happy that I have had this opportunity of meeting you all. When I go you will be able to judge the work of a man who is now old in years and whom perhaps many of you may not be able to see for many years more. Like you he also felt in his own life as you do at your age and he made up his mind at that age to do what little he could and God be thanked that he has been able to do what he had prepared himself for. I wish you all to do that and I pray that God may bring you success.

ADJUSTMENT BETWEEN THOUGHT AND DEED, IDEAL AND ACTUAL ESSENTIAL.*

It is after four years that I have come here again to participate in the Independence Day celebrations, though I have been here in between for inaugurating the bigger Mysore State consequent upon Government's decision on the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. The decision that the President should take the Salute at the Independence Day Parade in South India, was implemented first of all in the beautiful city of Bangalore in 1954. Having completed the first round of the capitals of the four South Indian States, I feel happy to begin the second round from this city again. On this happy occasion I offer you all my greetings and best wishes for a happy and prosperous year which begins today.

I would like to compliment the various units of the Armed Forces, the Army including the Boys' Battalion, the Indian Air

*Speech made after taking salute on Independence Day at Bangalore on August 15, 1958.

Force, the Police, the N.C.C. boys and girls, contingents of Scouts and the Bharat Sevak Samaj who participated in today's parade on their smartness and all-round good turn-out. I offer them all my congratulations and wish them good luck.

It is exactly 11 years today that after a long period of foreign domination India emerged as an independent country. While we waged our non-violent struggle for freedom, we set before us certain ideals, certain objectives to which we pledged our loyalty and for the fulfilment of which we resolved to use the opportunities that freedom was expected to bring in its wake. When the time to draw up our Constitution came, we tried to embody those ideals in it, putting them in precise and well-defined terms in its Directives Chapter so that the world and our own people may know what we stand for and our future generations may continue to be guided by the loftiness of those ideals.

We decided that for developing our country and ministering to the needs of our people as best as possible, we should stick to the democratic pattern of life and adopt the parliamentary system of government as best suited to our present-day conditions. Undoubtedly the course we have chosen to follow is neither easy nor so smooth. Difficulties and temporary setbacks are inherent in the very situation. There may be occasions when adjustment between the ideal and the actual, the thought and the deed appears to be an uphill task. Nay, let us admit that such an undertaking is in the very nature of things difficult. We should not for that reason start trimming our ideals so that our actions may fit into them, rather should we continue to try again and again to improve our actions so that they reach up to our ideals. There can be no doubt at all that it is only this latter course which is in keeping with not only the aim that we have set before ourselves but also the great traditions of this country. We should rather be content with earnest efforts even if we must move forward through trial and error than compromise with ideals by taking the line of least resistance.

India may well claim to be the world's biggest democratic nation. We are pledged to the democratic way of living and to run our administration on democratic lines in preference to all other ways. We have decided to do so for no mere sentimental reasons. We firmly believe in the equality of opportunity for all, in the freedom of conscience and faith for every citizen and in postulating an inviolable guarantee of certain

fundamental rights for every Indian citizen. We believe in the maxim that all are equal before law and all, big or small, high or low, rich or poor, can be sure of social justice whatever walk of life they may belong to. It is these convictions which have gone to form the basis of our faith in democracy, and we have adopted this ideal as a result of the dictates of our conscience which, we feel sure, are entirely in keeping with the practical needs not only of this country but of the whole world.

I can say that our faith in a policy of live and let live, which in the language of diplomacy has come to be known as the theory of peaceful co-existence, springs essentially from this conviction. To the best of our lights and our capacity we have tried and would continue to try to follow this ideal in our internal administration as also in our foreign policy. Neither criticism, uncharitable or otherwise, nor our own weaknesses, should deflect us from this chosen path.

Having chosen that path with full deliberation and with the willing support of the people, I would like to pose the question: how far have we succeeded in carrying out our intentions into effect and how far have our actions conformed to our cherished thoughts? I would earnestly appeal to each one of my countrymen to put this question to himself or herself and seek an answer from within. Let everyone examine his own thoughts and see for himself how far he has succeeded in imbibing the ideal in question.

I have said all this because I feel the necessity of our people pondering now and then over these basic issues. When one feels clouded or confused for any reason, it is only one's faith in a high ideal that helps one steer clear of doubt or mental conflicts. Fostering this faith in democratic principles, which are essentially based on non-violence, is in my opinion our foremost need. Let me hope every thinking man and woman in this country will give thought to it and try to inculcate in himself or herself the discipline of democracy.

The thought that we are steadily, though slowly, forging ahead with our many-sided development programme, is indeed encouraging. For making every citizen happy and bestow on him a degree of freedom from want, a nation has, of necessity, to traverse a long way. Our country can be no exception to this rule. Whatever the difficulties and whatever our shortcomings, let us not be downhearted but year after year move forward adding to the Nation's material wealth and improving

the economic and social conditions of the masses to the best of our ability and resources. Let us never forget the fact that mere material improvement, however great and impressive, cannot take us to the ideal. No nation devoid of faith in high moral principles can really rise high and the attainment of these principles should coincide with, if not precede, material prosperity to make it really great. Let this faith fortify us against any counsel of despair and let our ideals continue to inspire us with confidence in ourselves and in the future of the human race, faith in the destiny of this country and in the well-being of mankind.

Once again I wish you all and through you the rest of our countrymen good luck and happiness.

CALL FOR MUTUAL GOODWILL BETWEEN ASIAN AND AFRICAN PEOPLES.*

Your Highness, Mr. Chief Minister, General Cariappa, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I am happy to be here this evening to witness the performance which you are going to give us and not only myself but also the audience here are anxious more to witness the performance than to hear dry words from me.

It is indeed a happy coincidence that General Cariappa should have initiated a movement which aims at peace, because no one knows the horrors of war more than one who has been through it in actual practice. It is, therefore, that Mahatma Gandhi used to tell us that non-violence could be understood better by soldiers because conviction comes from real experience of what violence consists in and of what violence means to the world and specially a man like myself who has done no violence to anybody nor has he been subjected to any violence can only realise and imagine what violence really is but one who has gone through it knows what the meaning of violence is and I am not surprised that the initiative should have come from General Cariappa.

It is really the thing which is needed. We want goodwill of all countries, not only for ourselves but for one another and non-official organisations can do a lot to establish world peace and goodwill which the Governments and statesmen even if

*Speech at Bangalore at the Asia-African Goodwill Society on August 16, 1958.

they wish it may not find it easy to do because they have their own difficulties and handicaps. Therefore it is for non-official organisations which have no handicaps to establish goodwill and create the atmosphere which leads to a non-violent society and establishes goodwill between one country and another.

People of Asia and Africa are so close to each other—and they have passed through difficult times for centuries—that it is natural for them to sympathise more with one another than other countries do and such organisations as help the best of relations between the people of these countries are necessary. I would therefore congratulate you on the idea of originating this movement and I wish you all success.

VISIT TO INDIAN TELEPHONE INDUSTRY.*

Shri Jagdish Prasad and friends,—

It is a matter of great pleasure for me to be here this morning and meet you all. I have gone round some portions of the factory and have been shown many processes in the manufacture of the phones which you are producing. Not being a man of science, I do not understand anything about mechanism of the telephone. My only concern is to talk on the telephone and to find out whether I am being heard on the other side or not and I must congratulate this factory on the fact that it has been able to replace most of the telephones which we used to import from other countries formerly.

From the report which I was given yesterday I found that you produce something like 1,800 telephones per week, that is, something like 90,000 telephones per year. I do not know what our needs at the present moment are but I think we are self-sufficient. Now in this factory every one of you has his own part to play and I am quite sure that you all not only do the work allotted to you but you also feel that you are doing a useful work, not only earning your livelihood but doing great service to the country.

At the present moment the need, however, is to see that the freedom which we have won is used for the best purpose and the best way of using this freedom which we have achieved is that the people should realise benefit from it. We are

* Address to the workers of the Telephone Factory at Bangalore on August 16, 1958.

trying in our own way in different spheres to improve the conditions of the country, specially, to improve the living conditions of the people at large. Every factory which exists, every workshop which comes into existence in this country has its own importance and a factory like yours which does such a useful work has importance of its own. So I wish you to feel that you are doing a great thing and a good thing for the country and I wish you also to feel that in this age everyone of you has his own part to play and that you should play it well.

We need progress in all lines. We have been shouting for more production of foodgrains and of various kinds of things. In this age we cannot do without machines and therefore there are factories producing machines also on the purchase of which we had to send money abroad. This factory is producing most of the telephones which we need and thus it is preventing a considerable amount from going to foreign countries. You are therefore doing a good thing and I wish you to feel that you are doing so.

I am happy to learn that the progress which has been made is being maintained. Within the last 10 years that this factory has been working, it has made tremendous progress. It started with a small beginning and now you are producing most of the parts which go to make telephones. I was told that a telephone has no less than 500 parts which have to be made. We are making most of them and I hope such parts as are not being made yet will be made soon.

I wish you all good luck and I wish the factory more and better success in future, than it has been in the past although the past success also has been good. Thank you.

EXHORTATION TO STEP UP AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION.*

I need hardly tell my countrymen, particularly the cultivators, that so far we have not been able to achieve self-sufficiency in the production of foodgrains in spite of our several years' efforts. I know that there has been an overall increase in agricultural production, but it is still short of our demand.

*Broadcast inaugurating the Rabi Sowing Campaign on September 11, 1958.

There may be several reasons for it, as for example, our increasing population, failure of timely rains, floods or other natural calamities. These factors have had an adverse effect on our agricultural operations, though, at the same time, our demand goes on increasing as ever.

The situation which we are now facing on account of shortage of foodgrains can be met only by increasing the production of cereals, which is possible only by bringing more and more land under the plough and by increasing the yield from the cultivated land by using better method and instruments of cultivation, better seed, sufficient manure and arranging for irrigational facilities. We have also to make sure that proper crops are selected for sowing, the selection being based on the quality of the land and the general requirements of the people. It cannot be overemphasised that the total arable land available in the country is limited and all our requirements of food have to be met from it. We must see that we use it in a manner that it continues to be of service in future also as hitherto. Besides, we have a good deal of uncultivated land which is partly used for grazing purposes and partly for raising forests. In our agricultural planning we cannot afford to forget the important place that our cattle occupy in it both for operational use in the field and for supplying organic manure. Indiscriminate deforestation is also harmful because it has an adverse effect on climate and rainfall and aggravates land erosion. That is why we have to be very careful while bringing unused land under the plough. Therefore the real solution of our difficulties lies in raising the rate of production per acre.

As compared with other countries, the production per acre in India is rather poor, less than even one-fourth of their average. If we concentrate on intensive cultivation making full use of the latest methods, we can double or even treble our total produce without adding an inch to the present arable area. This is what we should aim at. Improved seeds, better implements and facilities of irrigation and extensive use of insecticides to save crops from damage—all these devices must be pressed into service to achieve this end. With the help of science and modern technology valuable research work and investigation are being done in our country with a view to effecting qualitative and quantitative improvement in our agricultural produce. As a result of this research, new methods are thought of and new strains are developed. If all the results of these researches are made available to the cultivators in the fields and they make full use of that knowledge, there can be no doubt that the crops would improve and the total production increase.

I want to tell you that on behalf of the Government every effort is being made that as far as possible these facilities are provided to the cultivators in time. The Government employees concerned with land and agriculture have been given instructions to this effect. But do not forget that these aids and facilities notwithstanding, it is you, tillers of the soil, on whom the main responsibility for increasing the production of foodgrains rests. If only you bring the requisite earnestness and enthusiasm to bear on your work, I am sure, you will be able to do your duty.

India is predominantly an agricultural country. It is a matter of disgrace that for meeting our own needs we should have to be importing foodgrains from other countries. Is it not a pity that a country seventy per cent. of whose population is busy in agricultural pursuits, whose land is so fertile and where agriculture has been the principal occupation for thousands of years should have to look to others for feeding its people? It is only the Indian cultivator who can remove this slur from our country's fair name and it is his duty to do so.

It goes without saying that, it is the duty of the State to help him in equipping himself with such facilities as he cannot procure with the help of his own resources. I assure you that the Government is only too keen to do so. Keeping this objective in view the Government has decided to launch a country-wide campaign for rabi sowings so that the rabi crops are sown properly and intensively and are able to give us greater yield. This campaign can succeed only with the help and co-operation of the actual tillers whose earnestness and hard labour are going to be the determining factors. The Union Government which is responsible for sponsoring this campaign, has directed the State Governments that all of their employees specially those working in the agricultural departments must render every possible assistance to cultivators in making this campaign a success. Government employees have been instructed to go to the countryside for ascertaining the requirements of the cultivators and doing all that is possible to fulfil them. I appeal to my kisan brethren to respond to this call of duty to the best of their capacity.

You must be knowing that in every district there is an office charged with the task of looking after rural welfare and agricultural operations. There are also technical schools and colleges imparting agricultural education situated in many parts of the country. All those connected with these institutions and

offices, whether students or teachers, owe it to themselves and have been asked to tour the countryside and assist the cultivators in a practical way in their sowing operations. You must also contact these officials if you have any difficulty and place it before them unhesitatingly. I would like to repeat that it is your duty to see that the seed is of good quality, that the land has been properly and intensively ploughed, that good manure in sufficient quantities has been used and arranged for and that, as far as possible, arrangements for irrigation have been made. As I said just now, you should also make sure that you are sowing the right crop in your land. Wheat, barley, gram and jowar are the principal rabi crops and you must select one of these for your land according to its quality and capacity.

I would like to appeal to the cultivators of India that they have not taken to the plough for merely meeting their personal or family needs. It is also their responsibility that the whole nation gets sufficient food to meet its requirements without having to import foodgrains from overseas. Let them realise that agriculture is as important as any other national undertaking. They should feel proud of the fact that work of such great responsibility, namely, feeding the entire nation, has been assigned to them. Let this realisation inspire and encourage them.

With a view to encouraging Indian agriculture, crop competitions were introduced a few years ago. Accordingly, the best producers of certain crops have been given awards by the Government year after year. The list of crops for which awards have so far been given has now been extended so as to include wheat, jowar, gram, etc., in it as from this year. I suggest that this competition should not be confined to individuals only but extended to whole villages and development blocks. In case of individual competition one can win the award by producing the maximum crop in one acre, but other people in the winner's village derive little or no benefit from his efforts. When these competitions are so extended as to require a whole village or area to compete against another village or area the result will be that the entire cultivated land in the whole village will improve on account of the efforts of all the cultivators. Consequently, it will step up total production considerably. It will also give an impetus to mutual aid and co-operation among the villagers who will be trying to raise the total production of the village so as to compete with other villages. Such competitions are likely also to forge new links of unity and self-help among our rural community. In this way, if the best producing village

in every district is offered an award, I am sure, besides increasing the yield in the competing village it will also result in increasing the total output from land in the district. I would, therefore, suggest that such competitions are held at three levels; the all-India level, the state-level and the district-level.

I hope as a result of these efforts, particularly as a result of the new awakening and enthusiasm of the Indian cultivators, we cannot only avert the present food crisis but also achieve, in course of time, self-sufficiency in food.

Among the things which man needs for sustaining life food comes foremost. Food prices also govern all other price-levels. We can hope to be happy and make a success of our reconstruction plans only when we are able to produce enough to meet our requirements and when the tillers of the soil and those who live in the countryside are able to lead a life of reasonable comfort and happiness. Then alone shall we be able to divert the foreign exchange, which now goes to buy foodgrains from abroad, to avenues of national reconstruction. This will serve not only the interest of the nation as a whole but will also prove profitable to the individual cultivator. I hope and trust that the Indian cultivator will not fail us and that we shall be able to reach the cherished target of self-sufficiency in the matter of food production.

HIGH PLACE OF MEDICAL PROFESSION IN CIVILISED SOCIETY.*

I feel happy to have come here today and met so many distinguished members of the medical profession in the country. Though I have been associated with the Indian Medical Association in the past, I thankfully welcomed the opportunity extended to me to lay the foundation-stone of the new building of your Association.

The Indian Medical Association during the last 30 years of its existence has rendered signal service to the profession not only by promoting the cause of medical and allied sciences, but also by helping to place public health and medical education on a sound footing in India. Important as medical aid is in every civilised society, we shall do well to attach the same, if not greater, importance to the eradication of disease and ill-health by timely care and preventive measures.

*President's Speech made at the Foundation-Stone-Laying Ceremony of the building of the Indian Medical Association at New Delhi on 19th September, 1958.

It is, indeed, an act of self-abnegation, if not self-liquidation, on your part to give in your programme the same place to prevention which you give to the cure of diseases. To a layman like me who knows little about the medical profession, except for the assistance which has been generously given to me by all members of the profession in all parts of the country during the last 35 years or so to combat my own occasional troubles, this large-hearted attitude forms the very basis of man like me who knows little about the medical profession, in India, for much of which your organisation could legitimately claim credit, is such that we can all feel proud of it.

We cannot, however, lose sight of the fact that the medical aid facilities and the general health services available in our country at present are not commensurate with the requirements of our people. Even when full allowance is made for the fact that we have had to make up for past neglect and deficiencies, no one would feel satisfied with the inevitably slow progress of our Health Services, determined as they cannot but be by demands on our limited resources of equal validity. I know in our Five-Year Plans some sort of priority has been given to these Services along with the extension of medical facilities and the expansion of medical education. Not only that, it will also be found that the position today as compared with what it was, say, 10 years ago, is far better. We begin to feel the sting only when we take into consideration the general demand for still better and greater facilities all over the country.

It is a matter which cannot, by any means, be described as the exclusive concern of the Government. The blame, if at all I may use that word, has to be shared by non-official bodies and private institutions as well. By and large, the medical profession in India is still in private hands. Therefore, it is only fair that both the credit and blame are shared by all equally.

It will, perhaps, be unnecessary for me to point out that conditions of living in India are undergoing a rapid change. Our vast nation-building programmes are beginning to show results. The first result in such cases necessarily means a ferment and some discontent with the existing state of affairs. We have to take a healthy view of this state of discontent, which is possible only if it is used as a lever for building up a better organisation and as an incentive for improvement. I have no doubt in my mind that we are anxious to do so. Every thinking Indian, howsoever critical he may be, should be keen to do his duty and contribute his share to the mighty experiment of reconstruction that we have launched in free India.

As the principal representative organisation of the medical profession in this country, the Indian Medical Association shoulders the responsibility of guiding the profession and helping the Government and the public in the process of adjustment and adaptation that the period of transition through which we are now passing necessitates. While it must be admitted that economic return or the profit motive is a legitimate incentive in itself, let us not forget that as at the time of the struggle for freedom in which your profession played such a distinguished role, sacrifice and self-denial are no less necessary during the current period when all our resources and energies are bent towards the creation of a new India.

The dawn of freedom for us signifies the beginning of a nation-wide effort to create a welfare State, and you all know too well what an important place eradication of disease, provision of adequate medical aid for the sick and health services in general occupy in the dispensation that we all aspire for. Your Association has, therefore, a positive contribution to make to the realisation of that consummation. Judging from your fine record, achieved during the first twenty years in an atmosphere not quite favourable to your association, your present membership and the aims and high ideals which guide your organisation, one could say without any hesitation that your efforts are bound to meet with success.

On this occasion when you have been good enough to ask me to lay the foundation-stone of your new building, I would like to extend my greetings to you all and wish you the best of luck in your undertaking to bring happiness to every individual through good health and assurance of ready medical aid in the event of sickness.

I have great pleasure now to lay the foundation-stone of your new building.

A TELEVISION INTERVIEW.*

I am very happy to be able to come to Japan at the kind invitation of H.M. The Emperor and the Government of Japan. I am only sorry that on the eve of my arrival your country should have been visited by a grave natural calamity which has caused so much loss and suffering. I am, therefore, all the more touched by the warm and cordial welcome which you have given me. I take this opportunity of thanking you and

*Message to the people of Japan—a Television Interview, September 27, 1958.

of conveying to you the goodwill and sincere friendship of the people of India. I also convey my deepest sympathies to the victims of the typhoon.

For many years I have cherished the wish to visit your beautiful country. Between India and Japan there have been close and ancient ties. Nearly 1,300 years ago Buddhism, to which India had the proud privilege of giving birth, came to Japan. With it came India's philosophy and spiritual thought. Spiritually, Japan and India have thus been tied together for centuries. The achievements of Japan, her technological progress and the discipline and energy of the people have been greatly admired by the people of India and of other Asian countries. The example of Japan in no small measure inspired other peoples in Asia in the past when they were struggling to be free. It is a fortunate turn of history that Asian countries previously under suppression have now attained freedom. The energies of millions of people in India and elsewhere are now devoted to the betterment of their economic and social conditions and towards pursuing the ideals of toleration, peace and goodwill with other nations. They are encouraged in their efforts by the example of new Japan whose people, dedicated to peace and democracy, have, from the ashes of war, so beautifully reconstructed their life and economy in such a short space of time. The peoples of our two countries have now the opportunity in full freedom and understanding of renewing their ties, not only spiritual, but in the economic and cultural fields as well.

I am looking forward to seeing something of your beautiful country, of your art and culture, of your agriculture and industry. I hope to learn and profit much from my observations and experience. It is my sincere hope that the peoples of Japan and India march together in friendship, co-operation and mutual understanding for their common good and the good of humanity.

INDIA AND JAPAN, FRIENDS OF LONG STANDING.*

I take this opportunity to thank Your Imperial Majesty for your kind invitation to me to visit your great and beautiful country. I feel grateful to Your Majesty's Government and the citizens of Tokyo for the cordial welcome accorded to me since my arrival here yesterday. Though this is my first visit to this part of the world and much that I am seeing here looks new to me, yet thanks to the spirit of goodwill and all-round cordiality in the atmosphere I feel as if I am moving among friends of long-standing.

*Speech at His Majesty the Emperor's Banquet at the Imperial Palace, Tokyo on September 28, 1958.

It may sound platitudinous but it is a fact which our past history confirms and which the peoples of our two countries cherish in their memories that Japan and India have had close cultural relationship and contacts which have led to many useful exchanges in several spheres of human activity. We naturally feel happy that the old relationship has once again been reinforced in modern times by the friendliest ties of understanding, mutual regard and the desire to be of help to each other in the wider interests of our peoples and the world at large.

Today we are living in a world where advancement of science and technology has changed the entire perspective not only of the individual but of human society as a whole. This changed perspective has challenged many an old concept. It is imperative for human progress as also for human happiness that we consider the situation calmly and decide whether the newly acquired knowledge should prove to be a boon or a curse to humanity. The latest discoveries about the atomic power pose a big question which must be answered. Shall we allow these discoveries to work for the utter destruction of mankind or shall we use them for the removal of human want and misery? It is a question which concerns everyone, every nation, big or small, and in the interest of the survival of the human race we must strive hard so that the power, which the scientific discoveries have brought within our reach, is used to improve the lot of men and nations and not as a means of total annihilation.

This constitutes, in my opinion, a good enough explanation for the universal desire for peace which is so much in evidence today. Let me hope that it will be realised that the time has come for reckoning the new factors and boldly recognising the necessity of adjusting human relations accordingly. It may mean, in a sense, a break with the past. It certainly means turning a new corner.

Let every nation strive for peace by abjuring aggression and subscribing to the view that all international disputes should be settled amicably in a spirit of tolerance and accommodation.

I would also like to take this opportunity of expressing my gratification at the general awakening and resurgence that has lately been taking place in what are known as eastern countries. It is in no narrow spirit that we welcome the strides that Asian and African countries have been making. Judged from any point of view this development augurs well for the future of the human race. Underdeveloped countries constitute a potential threat to human progress and happiness. Let us hope that the march of progress which has begun in these countries

will continue unhindered and their peoples will not only be able to improve their own lot but also contribute their due share to the happiness and prosperity of the world at large.

It is a matter of sincere gratification that Your Majesty's Government subscribes to the ideal of peace and international amity. May I say that India is also wedded to the same ideal and tries to make such contribution as it can towards its attainment in its own humble way? This sharing of a common ideal has strengthened the bonds of age-old friendship between India and Japan and I feel sure that these bonds will continue to grow stronger and stronger as time passes.

Once again I would like to thank Your Majesty for your invitation to me to visit your great country. It has given me an opportunity to see and learn many things which I shall value and cherish. May I convey through Your Majesty the best wishes of the Government and the people of India for the happiness and prosperity of Your Majesty's Government and the Japanese people.

BUDDHISTIC TRADITION OF LEARNING.*

I use no language of convention when I say that I feel highly honoured to be decorated with a degree of your great University. When I think of the traditions of your University and the way it has been carrying on its work of delving deep into the learned lore of Buddhism, I am reminded of the great University of Nalanda in my country which for a thousand years or so kept the torch of learning bright and received students and seekers after truth from distant lands and sent out its own students and teachers to study and propagate the great teachings of the Buddha. Your University seems to have taken its birth some centuries after Nalanda ceased to be the seat of light and learning that it was. But you can claim to be carrying on the tradition of Buddhistic studies, refining and reforming its tenets and collecting together all that is available about Buddhism not only in Japan but in China and Tibet and other distant lands.

As has been so felicitously and graciously expressed by His Imperial Majesty, the old relationship of more than a thousand years between our two countries has been through Buddhist literature and Buddhist faith.

/ It is one of the apparently inexplicable and inscrutable events of history that in India at present there is nothing like Buddhist Church or a formal organisation of the Buddhistic

*Speech at the University of Ohtani (Japan) on September 29, 1958,

faith to which any appreciable number of the hundreds of millions of India owe formal and ceremonial allegiance. As far as I know, there is no record of any persecution or violence against Buddhism, and Buddhism as a formal religion has not been eliminated or expelled from India, but has undergone a change in theory and practice and has been accepted and assimilated in its essence and still prevails uninterrupted." It is not necessary to remind the scholars of the University that Buddhist philosophy is an offshoot and a branch of the Indian or Hindu philosophy which had already reached a high degree of attainment even before the advent of the great Buddha on this earth.

Like all other philosophies and faiths the Hinduism of those days had developed in its practical application many customs and rites which did not appeal to the fine and noble sensibility of the Buddha, and having not only studied the philosophy but also practised the prescribed and prevalent austerities, the Buddha rejected much of the formal and ceremonial part of the then prevailing religion and accepted, adopted and expanded the core and essential principles of that philosophy. It was, therefore, not surprising that even in his own lifetime he was able to attract large numbers, masses and classes, peasant and princes alike, to his way of thinking and living. Soon after his death, his doctrines spread all over the country. In the course of centuries they covered southern, south-western, northern, north-western, central and eastern portions of the great continent of Asia. In India itself, its fundamentals became a part and parcel of the Hindu way of life and became absorbed in it, influencing the beliefs and activities of the people even today.

It has been one of the peculiar characteristics of Indian thought and practice to give full and unstinted freedom of thought and as a consequence to recognise diversities of opinion and practice, and ultimately to find an all-embracing synthesis to bring together all the divergent elements of thought and theory. Not only do the "Upanishads" proclaim the freedom of mind that man enjoyed in those days, the growth of Buddhism itself was a demonstration of this basic factor in our mental structure. This process has gone on uninterrupted. The growth of different schools in Buddhism itself, the "Mahayana" and the "Hinayana", with their numerous branches, indicates the same line of growth and acceptance by the Buddhists all over the world of the fundamental freedom of the human mind.

The way the Hindus of old gave recognition to these theoretical and theological differences was to place their founders and prominent propagators in the categories of "Rishis" (Seers) and

"Acharyas" (Teachers), and those who changed not only the line of their thought, but also the course of their action and the way of life were dignified and proclaimed as "Avataras". Buddha is regarded by even the orthodox Hindus of today as an "Avatar", and his name is repeated in many of the shlokas recited at prayer time. The Hindu chronology has divided the age of the Universe since creation into different parts under distinctive names and the present age is regarded as the period of Buddha's incarnation or Buddhavatar in "Kaliyug". It is a practice with orthodox Hindus to repeat this description of the age at the beginning of every auspicious deed including their daily-prayers. You will thus see that Hinduism has not discarded the Buddha or the fundamental and basic truth of Buddhism, but recognised its existence in every-day life. The process of free-thinking has gone on uninterrupted for as long as there is any record available whether written or spoken. Each new school of thought, that has arisen, has developed its branches and no wonder that Buddhism itself has maintained this process of growth as witnessed by the development of its doctrines with their numerous branches which have arisen, grown and prospered as centuries have flown by. Even within our own times, within the last hundred years or so, we have seen amongst Hindus the birth and growth of what are known as the "Brahma Samaj", and "Arya Samaj" or Vedic Dharma, and last but not the least, the current thought set in motion by Mahatma Gandhi.

It is well to remember that throughout the centuries, through all the vicissitudes of time and political and social revolutions, this thought-current has remained uninterrupted and has been like the mighty "Ganga" having its source in the unknown and perhaps unknowable purity, whiteness and light of the mighty and celestial Himalayas and flowing in all directions, distributing its sacred and life-giving waters to all who care to drink of it.

It is, therefore, a matter of just pride for me to be honoured by you who are in the line of ancient universities and seats of learning, and maintain and carry on the traditions of devotion to learning and assiduous research. I also feel elated when I think that you have kept up the study of Sanskrit and other Buddhist literature in the languages of India and other countries like China and Tibet. I believe there is in India a large body of works in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, which have not yet been studied and explored by modern scholars and remain embodied in manuscripts scattered in different and distant parts of the country in spite of the havoc which time and history have wrought. I understand that there are many works of great

value and merit not only as contributions to philosophical thought and theory, but also as store-houses of historical facts and events which have been lost or destroyed in India but are still extant and available in the languages of other countries like China and Tibet. I should not be surprised if there are such works in Japanese language also. There is thus a vast field for collaboration of scholars in my country and yours, and a University like yours offers the forum and the medium for the exchange not only of thought and researches, but also of scholars who devote themselves to such study.

In India we have since the attainment of Independence established a new Institute at the site of the old Nalanda for the study of Buddhistic literature which is already attracting students from abroad, and let me hope that in course of time it will become another great link joining cultural centres and through them promote further growth of friendship and collaboration in other fields of life.

I again thank you for the honour you have conferred upon me, and can only hope that I shall have deserved it.

NEED FOR RESEARCH AND COLLABORATION IN BUDDHIST STUDIES.*

The Ryukoku University is the second university in Japan which has been pleased to confer upon me the honour of a Degree. I need hardly say that I greatly appreciate and value this distinction. The University, while retaining its speciality as being a university offering lectures in research in the field of general Buddhism, Shin Buddhism as well as cultural education valuable for the enhancement of a full religious life for well over 300 years, has also introduced courses and curricula in modern subjects like sociology, history as well as natural science. Knowledge has no bounds and there should be no restrictions on its acquisition and propagation. With the advances made in the study of the various subjects, humanities as well as science and technology, it is not possible for anyone to specialise in more than a few subjects. Institutions also have accordingly specialised in particular subjects, not with a view to excluding or eliminating study of knowledge of other subjects but for providing better facilities for intensive study in the subjects in which they specialise. At the same time, specialisation is possible, and in fact is profitable, only after a certain stage of general attainment. I, therefore, attach great value to the combination which you are trying of a general course of the modern type with intensive study of Buddhist philosophy and Buddhist literature.

*Speech at the Ryukoyu University (Japan) on September 30, 1958.

It is a matter of congratulation that in Japan, in some of your universities, you have kept up the study of Sanskrit uninterrupted for many centuries, especially because you are interested in Buddhist philosophy. That has been a great binding factor between India and your country and several other countries. In that relationship there has never been at any time any coercion or force, but it has grown out from the peoples of different and distant lands who were attracted towards each other by common thought and common ideals. We have records of many Chinese travellers having gone to India for pilgrimage and for study of Buddhist thought and literature. As a matter of fact, within recent times, the study of the accounts left by these travellers has led to the discovery of new vistas of historic research in my country, and many of the places visited and mentioned by them and many of the institutions with which they became acquainted, which had all been forgotten on account of lapse of time, have become fresh and live again in the minds and memories of Indians.

I am not aware of any accounts left by any Japanese travellers, but considering the long connection and the deep interest I can very well believe that there must have been enthusiasts and seekers after truth in Japan also who visited India. We have similar records of Indians coming out and visiting different and distant countries carrying with them the teachings and the message of the great Buddha. No wonder then that extensive work of translation of Buddhistic treatises was undertaken by Indians and peoples of these other countries; and we are aware that there are numerous works in translation in these languages, the original Sanskrit, Pali or Prakrit texts of which are no longer available. An attempt is being made to rescue and recover some of these works and re-translate them into Indian languages or at any rate to make them available to scholars in India and elsewhere.

I understand that you in your universities have a large collection of old manuscripts apart from printed and published works in your own language as well as in other languages, especially Indian languages like Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit and in Chinese. There is thus a great scope for co-operation and collaboration in their study and research. I was happy to learn that there were some Japanese students studying in some of the universities and educational centres in India. You will be happy to learn that there is a great revival of interest in Buddhistic studies and everything pertaining to Buddhism. A great demonstration of this sentiment was given when India celebrated

with great enthusiasm the 2500th anniversary of Lord Buddha throughout the country and had the honour and privilege of receiving a large number of Buddhist pilgrims who participated in the celebrations and visited sacred places associated with the life of Lord Buddha. Ashoka is looked upon as a great monarch who propagated the faith after having renounced war on account of his experience of its horrible consequences. From an ambitious warrior and conqueror, he changed into a man of peace and propagated not only the principle of peace and karuna, but established institutions for educating the people and hospitals for treating not only sick and suffering men and women, but also suffering animals. We have in our Constitution adopted the same symbol that he had as our insignia of government which is known as the Ashoka Chakra or the Wheel of Ashoka, and no one need be surprised if the Indian Prime Minister had been valiantly upholding the cause of peace and goodwill among all nations of the world. He is sometimes misunderstood, but he goes with his eyes fixed on peace for mankind.

You and we have thus a common objective and universities can do much to rouse the conscience of mankind and mobilise it in the interests of peace. You are in a peculiarly fortunate position because your university is steeped in the principles of ahimsa and also equipped with a knowledge of the modern world, with all its problems, difficulties, equipments, strength and also its weaknesses.

I accept the honour which you are conferring upon me with due humility in the hope that the relationship which is being thus established between me and your country may prove to be of some use in strengthening the relations, friendship and goodwill that exists between our two countries.

MEETING INDIANS IN JAPAN.*

Sisters and Brothers,—

I am very happy to have been able to come to this beautiful country for a few days. Besides seeing many parts of Japan, I have been able to meet all of you also, who have been living here. It would have pleased me all the more if this pleasant function had not been marred by the sad and sudden death of the Chairman of your Reception Committee, Shri Bhagat. During his stay in this country he did a lot for all of you and in order to bring India and Japan closer he instituted scholarships for the students of the two countries. Therefore, I feel sad for not having been able to see him, but it was God's will and we cannot but accept it.

*Speech made at the Reception given by the Indian Community at Osaka (Japan) on October 1, 1958.

I understand there are about 400 Indians living in this area engaged in trade and commerce. It is a good thing that Indian nationals should go overseas and establish contact with people of other countries and thus help in bringing India and the country of their adoption closer. I have always thought that every Indian who leaves his country for a foreign land is a sort of representative of India there. Because he moves among foreigners, lives with them, tries to understand them and adapt himself to their ways of living, a special responsibility devolves upon him. He must conduct himself in a manner which does credit to him and also to his country, India.

We are now living in an age when it is no longer possible for any country to live in an atmosphere of exclusiveness. The latest means of communications have annihilated distance and mutual contact among the countries is easier today than it was ever before. Therefore, the various nations are bound to come closer and closer to one another.

We are free in our country just as the Japanese are free in theirs. I should think that our two countries will be coming in greater touch with each other and our relations will be still more friendly. All of you who are here may for that reason consider yourself lucky because you have already established contacts here. Although I am told many of you are able to visit India only rarely, I am sure you must be knowing a good deal about your country, because your connection with India has not been and will never be severed. As India and Japan come closer and closer to each other, you will find them co-operating and collaborating with each other not only on the cultural plane but also in the spheres of commerce, trade and industry. You can be of help in the accomplishment of this task.

I am happy to know that the Indian community in Japan is prosperous and that all of you have earned a good name. The money which you are able to make, I am sure, is not meant entirely for maintaining yourself or your families but also for the benefit of other people. You have before you the example of Mr. Bhagat who donated a substantial part of his earnings to institute scholarships for Indian and Japanese students. You should keep this example before you and such of you as are in a position to lay aside something for helping others should not fail to do so.

I also know that the people of Japan are very industrious and self-sacrificing. They have built up their trade and industry

with sustained effort. They are once again on their feet after only a few years of the war. Their hard work and determination should be an object lesson for all of us. All these things you should learn and carry with you to the mother country so that we in India may also be able to fight poverty and eradicate disease and illiteracy from our country making India once again the land of plenty and prosperity. Once upon a time our people lived in reasonable comfort and also devoted themselves to spiritual pursuits. They were able to find time to place some of their lofty thoughts and ideas before the world, one of which, as you have said, namely, Buddhism, is still a living force. I pray for that day, and I am sure it will come, when India will have made sufficient progress and when her counsels would be heard in the comity of nations. It is the duty of every Indian, whether he lives in India or outside, to do his or her best to bring that day nearer.

TEACHING OF MAHATMA GANDHI—BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE IN TOKYO.

I am thankful for the warm reception you have given me. More than the reception I value this opportunity of having met all of you living in Japan. Let me hope you will ever keep India in mind. I wish you all good luck.

I am at a loss to find words to give adequate expression to my feelings of gratefulness for the very kind and cordial welcome which has been accorded to me ever since I set foot on your beautiful country. I am naturally happy but may I say that I am not surprised, knowing as I do, that the relations between our two countries are not of a recent date but are sanctified by tradition of centuries. I am conscious that this love and kindness which has been showered upon me is not for an individual, but for the country to which I have the honour to belong. The cultural ties between our two countries are at least 1300 to 1400 years old, and in modern times we have established other relationships which I am sure are of mutual benefit economically and politically.

Personally I attach infinitely greater value to the cultural ties because they are born of mutual goodwill, understanding and friendship. They are also more lasting because they touch the inner chords in the heart of the common man in both countries. India and Japan are separated by wide seas, but in the past our mutual regard for each other manifested itself whenever historical events have provided the inspiration. And in recent times we have strengthened these ties by those of an economic and political character which both countries have accepted in their mutual interest.

*Speech at the public meeting in Tokyo on October 2, 1958.

In our country this day is regarded as an auspicious day because it happens to be the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi. We started celebrating it as a day of national importance during his life-time but he characteristically discouraged us from regarding it as his birthday and gave it the name of Charkha Jayanti or the day of the celebration of the birth of the spinning wheel. You will be surprised to know why he should have given such importance to a spinning wheel. His whole life philosophy had as its motto truth and non-violence, satya and ahimsa, and flowing from these two basic principles he worked out in a practical way a line of thought and programme of action which enabled us to win our freedom as against a most powerful nation. When he started his work, there was discontent in the country against foreign rule. The British did some good things for the country but good Government can never be a substitute for self-government. And so the struggle against foreign rule continued. Methods of constitutional agitation were tried, so were those of violent revolution. But both were found wanting. At this stage came Mahatma Gandhi. He rejected both these methods and substituted for them the method of non-violent revolution. The whole plan was non-violent because it abjured violence in every form. The pledge which every volunteer who wished to join the movement seriously was required to sign insisted upon non-violence not only in word and action but also in thought; and it was revolutionary because it aimed at not only changing the rulers but also changing the whole life of the nation; changing by removing from it the accretions and abuses which had crept into our life and society during centuries and giving them fresh outlook. It was also revolutionary because it did not accept wholly or even mainly the western standard of modern days but picked and chose from it things which conformed to his conception of truth and non-violence, and rejected those which were irreconcilable with his basic principles. But wherever reconciliation was possible, he adjusted them to our own conditions.

Our struggle for freedom under Mahatmaji's leadership lasted for full thirty years. During the whole of this period he insisted upon the country abjuring violence in every form. Not that everyone accepted his theory in its entirety; not that there were no sporadic cases of violence, but by and large the country accepted his principles as a working guide and carried on the movement on a basis of non-violence. Cases of violence were so far and few between and caused such insignificant loss of life and property that they could be well ignored. But Mahatma Gandhi was not the man to excuse even these small aberrations.

Whenever there were any such cases, not only did he chide the people, but he actually stopped the movement even at a stage when people thought that they had gone too far to recede.

This happened not once, but on several occasions. Thus he taught the people to be disciplined. And it was not until he was convinced himself that they were in a position to give a good account of themselves and that the principle of non-violence had permeated the masses that he started the most significant and revolutionary part of his programme, namely, Satyagraha. Satyagraha means insistence on truth; in other words, not doing anything which is inconsistent with truth or which smacks of violence in any shape or form. This abandonment of violence in every form really made the foreign ruler helpless. If violence had been used, he had his means to meet it most effectively and to suppress it. That is why previous violent movements had failed. But when the Government of the day found that their violence did not provoke retaliatory violence on the part of the people, they found themselves helpless. The people would not obey their laws; they would take such punishment as was inflicted on them for disobeying the laws, but would not submit to their orders. No Government could imprison far less shoot down an entire people. Thus the prestige of the Government ebbed away, and they felt that the time had come when they should make up with the people of the country and leave it in peace. And so it happened.

It is a remarkable story how a people disarmed under the law and helpless in every way to meet force by force, could win their freedom by the use of simple but irresistible force of non-violent resistance. It of course required readiness on the part of the people to suffer willingly the consequences of not recognising the foreign rulers and not obeying their orders or paying their taxes or in any other way helping them. Mahatma Gandhi was at the same time careful that this should not lead to any chaos or disregard of law as such. Only such laws were to be disobeyed as he selected for the purpose on account of their obnoxiousness and their harmful effect on the morals of the people. Other laws even if they were objectionable, were to be meticulously observed. Let me tell you something about Gandhiji's attitude towards his adversaries. It will throw some light on his technique of Satyagraha or opposition without ill-will.

I will give you one instance to illustrate this. When a man was arrested for disobedience of law and was brought before a court of law, he was asked to admit his guilt and to take the

punishment that the court awarded without offering defence. This was nothing but acting in conformity with truth because the law had been intentionally disobeyed and there could be no defence legal or otherwise in a case like that: and when as a result of the court's order, a fine was imposed, he was asked not to pay the fine but to let them realise it as best they could: and if they were sent to prison, they were asked to obey the prison rules except such as hurt their national self-respect. He thus on the one hand taught the people to disobey and disregard the existence of a government which was not their own government, to disobey its laws which were considered obnoxious and obey others, to submit to the punishment that was imposed willingly and not in any way to try to escape it.

Gandhiji was arrested and was placed before a court for disobeying an order in 1917. He told the Magistrate that he had intentionally disobeyed the order because he had to choose between an order of a Magistrate and his own conscience and he had chosen the latter knowingly and intentionally, and the only thing that the Magistrate could do was to inflict the punishment which he considered fit. During the course of this big movement when he was arrested again, he asked the Judge either to resign if he agreed with his point of view or to inflict upon him the highest penalty which he could. Thus Gandhij's words and example not only heartened the people and created courage which was lacking, but also created respect for law and order and respect for life. The British became confused and confounded in the face of a programme like this and one of the highest officials admitted it in so many words.

Foreigners who visited the country while our movement was at its height marvelled at the discipline which the people showed even under harsh physical treatment while still carrying on the tasks allotted to them by their leader. Military strength was ineffective because there was no one against whom an army could fight. They could only shoot down unarmed people who offered no physical resistance. A foreign writer remarked, and I think correctly, that by disarming his own people, Gandhiji had disarmed the British so far as India was concerned.

This in a nutshell is the story of our struggle for freedom and its success in the end. But Gandhiji also realised that the country was poor. Disease and illiteracy were rampant. At the same time he saw the evil effects of modern large-scale industrialisation. He had, therefore, to find a middle course and the

criterion which he laid down was that which has been laid down by nature herself. He held that a man should be able to produce whatever he requires with his own labour, either singly or combined with the labour of others. He need take the help of only such instruments as would help in removing his exhaustion and bringing comfort and contentment.

He was not in favour of programmes which created their own problems of slums, of physical and psychological exhaustion by repetition and similar difficulties. He therefore thought of small industries which could be done by the people at home and which could keep them employed throughout the year, and which could give employment not only to particular classes of people, but which in their sweep would take all classes of people, even young and old, completely healthy as well as frail people. The spinning wheel he looked upon as the symbol of this kind of industry because it can be worked not only by strong hefty men, but even by old women and I have known even blind people working at the spinning wheel and producing fine yarn.

It was therefore not the fad of an imaginative faddist but the practical programme of a realist who could see that there were millions and millions in the land who had no work or who had only work for part of the day. It would not only enable them to utilise the time that was wasted, but it would also enable them to save millions of rupees which they then used to send out of the country for purchasing cloth manufactured in other countries. I know that in terms of modern economics it was not possible for the spinning wheel to compete with spinning mills, but it was not a question of competition. It was in a way the same kind of struggle that an unarmed people had to carry on against the might of an armed government. As we were more concerned at the time with politics and with the freedom struggle, we accepted this part of his economic and industrial programme also but in a secondary way; and while we acted on the political programme of non-violent Satyagraha and also on the programme of the spinning wheel, our attention was concentrated naturally more on the former and the latter was only as an appendage and subsidiary to it.

When we think of the present-day troubles of the world, we sometimes wonder if countries should not rethink their programmes and utilise the experience which Gandhiji's struggle has gained not only for India but for the world at large. Today scientific and technical advancement has reached a stage when the use of violence on the scale on which it can be utilised

through modern inventions, is calculated not only to ruin but to destroy humanity. Gandhiji anticipated that this was to be the end of all technical advancement in the race for armaments and he was sorry and unfortunate enough to live and see the day when Hiroshima was bombed. But his life well have been well lived if it can rouse the conscience of mankind today and the world, and especially the big countries turned towards non-violence.

It cannot be said now after our experience that it is just a vision of a visionary. We have seen results with our own eyes, and if an unarmed people by their struggle in a non-violent way, aided of course by world forces, not the least among them being the moral and spiritual stature of their opponents, have won their freedom, there should be no difficulty for peoples of the world not only to retain their freedom, but to enrich it if they adopted the same method of non-violence. From personal experience I can say that our non-violence has been a most paying proposition for us. We have not only won our freedom, but if I may say so, we have won the hearts of our opponents also, and today the relations between England and India are more friendly than they have ever been before in history.

I can wish nothing more and nothing better than that this aspect should be studied and looked into. Gandhiji used to say that non-violence is not for the coward but for those who are really and truly brave. An armed man does not depend solely upon himself, but also upon his arms for his safety. The truly non-violent resister depends upon nothing else except his own strong heart and faith in God: and if nations could realise the strength of this kind of non-violence, I have no doubt that many of the ills from which we are suffering and the disaster which we are all apprehending will be dispelled as darkness before sun-light.

I confess to a certain feeling of hesitation in placing this high ideal before the world. It was a man like Mahatma Gandhi alone who could have placed it before the world with living faith and carried conviction with others. We humbler folk have neither that stature nor that strength of faith or conviction and it ill becomes a man whose country is still maintaining an armed force. The face of the world will change if any country, even though it be a small country, were to disarm itself completely and challenge the world to do its worst against it. It would by so doing disarm the whole world against itself, and if bigger and more powerful nations could adopt it, it would cease to be

a troubled world and would become a heaven on earth. When our own people occasionally went mad and created violence, Mahatma Gandhi never despaired but hoped to wean them from violence and make of them brave men and women in the true sense of the word.

I sometimes wonder if some of the other nations will not prove with all their bravery in the wars which they have fought, with all their vast experience of killing and getting killed, and prove sooner than we have been able to do, that they are truly brave in the sense of Mahatma Gandhi by adopting non-violence as their creed and abjuring violence and disarming themselves completely. Enthusiasts and visionaries live in that hope. In a country where one regards one's life as not as valuable or of as much significance as people do in other countries and with all its background of chivalry and supreme self-sacrifice, it should be easier to adopt this course. I am not here to tender advice. I can only express the hope that you may prove even better disciples of Gandhiji than we are. After all Gandhiji was in the line of saints which goes back to Lord Buddha and earlier and which had kept burning the torch of non-violence in matters spiritual and cultural. The time has come when that light should illumine our political and economic affairs also.

With all the failings of man and nature manifested so often in all parts of the world, I firmly believe that avoidance of aggression and the use of good intentioned persuasion constitute an approach to human affairs which need not be necessarily limited to individuals or to mere sections of society. I believe these forces are strong and powerful enough to influence the course of human affairs in any walk of life, national or international. It is essentially a matter of belief or faith. Whatever the other resources that science may help men to acquire and howsoever invincible he might make himself before the other forces of nature, true light man is destined to obtain only from faith. It is the flame of faith alone which promises inner happiness and peace outside. Is it, therefore, too much to hope that man will recognise this flame and instead of groping in the dark avail himself of its light? If other saints preceding Gandhiji applied the principle of faith and universal love mainly to religious life, he himself sought to provide for it a wider basis, including the sphere of politics. Let us hope in course of time this principle embodied in Mahatma Gandhi's teachings will be applied to the whole sphere of human affairs, including international relationship. May be, this goal is not easy to achieve; may be it appears to be distant today; but let there be no doubt

that it is the goal which humanity has to reach sooner or later in the interest of its own survival and for vesting human life with the peace and dignity of which all prophets and saints have spoken and of which men in their saner moments so often dream.

OLD AND MODERN JAPAN.*

Friends,---

I hope you will excuse me for speaking sitting.

I have been overwhelmed by the kindness and affection which has been shown to me ever since I came here. I have visited some of your big centres and I have seen something of the old Japan, its old spirit and I have seen something also of the new modern Japan with all its developments and modern things. I feel that the kind of conciliation which you have been able to bring about and which you are actually doing in practice is really of great interest and value to all countries like India and other countries who are not so well developed according to the modern standard. What we need is really the middle course, namely, we do not want mere austerity but we do not want also only material prosperity. What is needed is really a beautiful mean between the two, when man should be above his ordinary essential needs but at the same time he should not be forgetful of the thing which really matters and this is what has to be attempted both in the East and the West and found, on the one side, by raising the living standard of the people in the East and in other countries where the materialistic ideas dominate, and, on the other hand, by making them conscious of the spiritual values. Anything that can be done in that direction should be attempted.

One can never feel satisfied with material needs; as one of our poets has said, "the more you get the more you need". So contentment must grow from within and it should not depend only upon supplies of external material things. You must develop that kind of satisfaction from within. We can have true peace both for the individual as well as for the nation only if we develop that sense of contentment.

I thank you once again for the very kind reception which you have given to me today and for all that you have been doing to welcome me ever since I came here.

*Speech at the reception held by the National Union at Chinzanso, Tokyo on October 4, 1958.

*I have spent a most interesting and instructive week in this beautiful country. I carry with me the impression of a hard-working and disciplined people who by their determination have overcome many difficulties. There is much that other countries in Asia can learn from Japan, her highly developed cottage industries and farming technique, her industrial efficiency and marketing organisation. I look forward to increasing co-operation between our two countries.

AVOIDANCE OF WAR ALONE CAN GUARANTEE PROGRESS.†

Year after year we celebrate the anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations and renew on this occasion our resolve to uphold the principles embodied in the Charter which brought this organisation into being 13 years ago. Whatever the U.N. has done during this period, its achievements and failures, its strength and its shortcomings—all of these are an open book for anyone to see and make his own appraisal of its *raison d'être*.

It should be enough to say that all sections of opinion, without any exception whatsoever, are agreed as to the desirability and, indeed, the necessity of having such an organisation for not only settling international disputes peacefully and amicably but also for ensuring better and closer collaboration among nations for the betterment of the peoples of the world at large.

Avoidance of aggression leading to war among nations is such a strong motive that it can by itself furnish all the justification for the existence of a world organisation. But I propose today to draw the attention of the peoples of the world to another factor which seems to me to be more positive in nature than mere avoidance of aggression.

The drama of history has been steadily unfolding itself since the appearance of man on earth, with all manner of scenes being enacted and all kinds of characters being ushered on the stage one after another. In this ceaseless activity we can discern now and then the counsel of peace, love and mutual goodwill voiced by wise men in all nations and all climes. Out of

*Farewell message to the people of Japan, on October 4, 1958.

†Broadcast on the eve of the United Nations Day on October 23, 1958.

tune with the times though such voice may at times have sounded, we can be sure that it has never been a cry in the wilderness. Human beings the world over have bowed before it and pledge allegiance to it, consecrating those who raised this voice as prophets and saints. Judging from the vast influence that these holy persons have had on human hearts we can safely say that their teachings have been in keeping with the true character of human nature.

May I, therefore, suggest that for supporting an organisation like U.N. we need not look for plausibility only in the avoidance of war, essential for our survival though it is. Greater than that, I believe, is the truth that mutual regard and tolerance constitute the core of the human mind. It is a positive attribute with which humanity has been endowed. It should be realised that the feeling of love or accommodation is something good in itself and that its goodness is too self-evident to depend on any demonstration or to be conditioned by any set of events. This forms the solid and indestructible foundation for the United Nations.

Let me hope we shall give due emphasis to this important aspect of the question and do what we can to further strengthen the foundation. On this occasion I send my greetings to all member nations of this organisation and would like to send India's good wishes to peoples of all nations.

MUSIC IN THE SERVICE OF MAN.*

I am very glad that as in previous years this year too I am able to associate myself with this Sammelan, thanks to the courtesy of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. I have been connected with this pleasant yearly function almost since its inception. As President of India I have to take part in many public functions. While in every case one is naturally prompted by a sense of duty, I must confess that this evening's function is one of those to which I look forward with some eagerness. Therefore I accepted Dr. Keskar's invitation readily and with gratitude.

*Inaugural Speech at the Radio Sangeet Sammelan, New Delhi, on November 1, 1958.

I have a firm belief in the sublimating influence of music. Irrespective of his environments and without bringing about necessarily a change in his external circumstances man can, with the help of music, develop in himself a sense of harmony which is uplifting. Like other fine arts, music also has the capacity to produce a sort of orderliness and self-consciousness in life. Another characteristic of music is that its good effect is not confined to the singer only. Its benefit extends to the listeners as well. If that were not so, it would clearly be impossible for a man like me, who has always been a listener and never a singer, to express these views.

It is because of these qualities that music has always found a place in the life of the individual as well as the society. It is significant that for recognition music has never had to depend upon civilisation. Even in those ages when man was considered uncivilised, music was popular, and even today among the Adivasis or the tribal people, on whom the impact of modern civilisation has been less than on other sections of society, devotion to music is greater than among the so-called advanced or civilised people. Besides, this is equally true that none of the present-day inventions of modern civilisation, its glamour and its recreations, have been able or ever will be able to diminish human interest in music. It will be no exaggeration to say that among the few immutable things in this changing world is the universal appeal of music.

The question whether music is a means of human welfare or, being just an end in itself, a source of comfort only to the singer, is not quite relevant for us, because the effect of music on man and human society is there for anyone to see. Instead of going into this controversy it should be far more advantageous for us to accept the power that music wields and then try to cultivate it for recreation and edification according to the requirements of the individual and the human society.

It is indeed gratifying that the Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, particularly the All-India Radio, has been putting in valuable efforts in this direction and may also be said to have achieved something. All-India Radio came into this field earlier than the Sangeet Natak Akadami. I feel particularly happy that, avoiding extremes, A.I.R. has chosen the middle course to achieve this objective. They have not overlooked the likes and dislikes of the common people by sticking to the traditional orthodox schools of music. Nor have they discarded the traditional system by taking the average listener's taste to be the sole criterion of good music.

I welcome the spirit of synthesis which you have accepted as your guide. Let us be sure that no traditional thought or system is necessarily good or bad in itself. How far we should adopt it would depend on its practical utility. It is then for us to accept it according to our present needs. Generally speaking, change is the symbol of progress. It is, therefore, improper to set ourselves against changing or amending anything that has come down to us from the past, unless there is adequate reason for doing so. Music can be no exception to this rule.

Whatever the nature or importance of music, this will have to be admitted that music is for man and not man for music. It is for this reason that I consider A.I.R.'s effort to be of great importance related as it is to the life of the common people of this country. To bring the different schools of music close to one another, to introduce necessary changes in the existing ragas and raginis with a view to making them easy and more popular and to encourage music and its lovers—all this work is without doubt of national importance.

I am glad that this Sammelan is gaining in popularity year by year and that there are more than 1,300 competitors who will take part in this year's competitions.

I congratulate All-India Radio on the success of this yearly music conference organised by them and extend my good wishes to all those devoted to music.

I have great pleasure now to declare this Music Conference open.

MANIFOLD USES OF EXPLOSIVES.*

It has given me great pleasure to be present here today for declaring open this Explosives Factory, which is the result of 5 years' planning and hard work. It is gratifying indeed that the work of building this factory has gone on smoothly and according to plan since the decision was taken by the Government of India in conjunction with the Imperial Chemical Industries.

*Speech made at Gomia while opening the Indian Explosives Factory on November 5, 1958.

Keeping in view the tempo of the development work going on in the country and the rate of progress of our industrialisation programme, I should think that this factory is being opened not a day too soon. In the present context there is an additional reason to welcome speedy execution of the proposal to construct an explosives factory in India. That reason is the great need to conserve our foreign exchange resources. To feed our existing industries and to expand them along with other nation-building activities, we require a few thousand tons of explosives every year, most of which has had so far to be imported from foreign countries. When this factory starts production we can look forward to meeting almost our entire demand of explosives from this source.

I am afraid there is a good deal of ignorance among the public, among laymen at any rate, about the various uses to which explosives are put in various industries. It is not widely known that explosives play a vital rôle in the country's development plans. The continuous working of such basic industries as coal, cement and steel, and the building of roads, rails, bridges, harbours, airports, tunnels, etc., depends, to a large extent, on adequate supplies of explosives for blasting purposes. Once this fact is known, the importance of this factory that is being opened today will be fully appreciated. The opening of the Gomia factory, therefore, marks the birth of a new industry in India and I have no doubt that in course of time this project will make a considerable contribution to Indian economy. Situated as this factory is within India's industrial belt and our principal source of mineral wealth, let me hope its working will have close and beneficial impact on our mining and steel industries.

I have been impressed by the details of production and your well thought out plans of construction of the factory premises and staff quarters. A good deal of thinking has gone in the planning of the whole estate and in it you have given importance not only to safety and security measures but also to the amenities that the workers should enjoy. It is not only in respect of technical equipment and technological processes that this factory is going to be modern and up-to-date; it may well be a model industrial undertaking with regard to the residential, recreational and other facilities also which you propose to provide to your staff.

It will not be out of place for me to say here that this factory and similar other projects will contribute much to the

Nation's economic development. They will also be opening new vistas for our skilled and educated young men. It will not be proper for those who work in such projects to look upon them merely as avenues of employment. These undertakings are the means for increasing national wealth, which is an essential prerequisite for eradicating poverty and fighting disease, ignorance and illiteracy. All those who are privileged to be associated with these projects in any capacity should feel a sense of pride that they have got an opportunity of contributing to the building up of a New India. Let this feeling give them a sense of fulfilment which, I am sure, will inspire them to put in their best in whatever work is allotted to them. It is this sense of pride and fulfilment which differentiates a mercenary, a mere wage-earner from one who works for an ideal.

I would like to compliment the Chairman and the two partners in this company, the Government of India and the Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., who have been responsible for raising the necessary resources to give concrete shape to an idea which, in effect, will be filling an important gap in our industrial plans. I wish the Indian Explosives, Ltd., a prosperous career in the service of Indian industries and the country at large.

I have great pleasure in declaring this factory open.

*I need hardly say how happy I am to be here today to lay the foundation-stone of the new block of your college associated with the sacred memory of the mother of that great patriot, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. Purulia rouses old memories in me. When I got the invitation from my dear old brother and friend Jimut Bahan Sen to come here and lay the foundation-stone of the new block of your college, my first reaction to it was naturally nostalgic. My mind went back to the days of the freedom struggle and I have been reminded of my earliest visits to this place in that connection, and as you have said, Purulia featured frequently in my itinerary. My great regret today when I am visiting Purulia after a pretty long time is that I miss many old familiar faces. But that is only natural and we have to put up with it.

Though it was the exigencies of the political work which I had undertaken that usually brought me to this place, Purulia came to be closely associated in my mind with the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. My first contact with Deshbandhu was in connection with professional legal work but later it

*Speech at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the New Arts and Science Block of the Nistarini (Women's) College at Purulia (West Bengal), November 6, 1958.

deepened into one of deep attachment by a humble follower on one side and benign affection on the other. Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was so great that no single State, to say nothing of a town, could reasonably lay claim to him. The impact of his personality was felt on the public life of the whole country and even today after having attained freedom when we sometimes think of the old stalwarts who formed the vanguard of the movement for India's emancipation, his name invariably and most prominently springs up before us. It is, therefore, understandable that the people of Purulia where Deshbandhu's revered mother, Shrimati Nistarini Das, lived should feel proud of their past. I am sure you have done the right thing in naming this college after that great lady. To associate great names with public institutions is no idle hero-worship but one of the means for coming generations to draw inspiration from the hallowed memory of the great.

About the importance of education in general and the education of women in particular, I would like to say in one word that if I were asked as to the one essential condition of imbibing the spirit of the present age and deriving full advantage from the progress of science and modern thought, I would have no hesitation in saying that that condition is universal education. The concept of democratic Government, the ideal of a Welfare State and the whole spirit of modernism presume education as a necessary precedent for their success.

The education of women is no less important than that of men and you have done the right thing in starting this institution which serves the double purpose of raising a memorial to a noble lady and imparting education to our growing girls. I have no doubt that as our educational drive gathers momentum and adequate accommodation and other facilities are provided in your college, a much larger number of students would be seeking admission here than are on its rolls today. It is my hope that all those connected with this institution in any way, whether as teachers or as students, will draw inspiration from Shrimati Nistarini Das and her illustrious son, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, who have shown us the way in patriotism and in self-sacrifice and whose generosity and wide human sympathy will ever serve as sources of inspiration to our people.

I wish your institution a prosperous career in the service of the people and the Indian Nation.

CULTURAL CONTACTS ESSENTIAL FOR PROMOTING INTER-NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING.*

It has given me great pleasure to be present here today to lay the foundation-stone of Azad Council for Cultural Relations. I welcome this opportunity of saying a few words on this occasion because this building will stand as a memorial to the late Maulana Azad, who played a prominent and distinguished role during our freedom struggle and later on in the post-Independence period. I had the good fortune of having known him since 1920 and as we had a common goal and a common platform we came in close touch with each other.

The importance of cultural relations among nations can hardly be over-emphasised in the present-day world. The incentive to know each other and to deal with each other for mutual advantage in the interest of commerce or furtherance of common ideals, has always been there in human society. From the earliest times history records the establishment of close contacts among the peoples of various countries in the face of difficulties of travel by land and the hazards of voyage by sea. In the absence of this tendency and but for the far-reaching effects resulting from such contacts, it is not unlikely that the course of events in the world and, in fact, its very history might have been different from what it has been. Whether we take the Buddhist era in our history or the times when Greek and Roman civilisations were at their height, or when Islam rose and spread in the East and the West, not to speak of the modern age, it is not open to doubt that it was as a result of these contacts that human culture was enriched, and ideas travelled from one country to another. Knowledge in every age has been something of a common pool of various nations rather than an exclusive preserve of anyone of them.

Even in that age of comparative insularity international contacts proved conducive to the advancement of knowledge and laid the foundation of social and cultural relationship. Indeed, recorded history has not been able to keep pace with the development of those contacts, with the result that we find many a gap in our knowledge today. Archæological finds and excavations in many parts of the world unmistakably point to mutual contacts among nations and the process of action and reaction set in motion by them. Ancient seals and coins as also

*Speech made while laying the foundation-stone of Azad Bhavan, Headquarters of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations at New Delhi on November 11, 1958.

sculptures on bas-reliefs discovered in recent times furnish conclusive proof of international contacts in commercial and cultural spheres.

We, in this country, have seen and known so much of this fact that we are no longer surprised when we see a newly dug-up seal bearing marks resembling Egyptian heliographs or a beautiful panel unearthed from Nagarjunakonda showing people from the Hellenic world among the courtesans of an Indian King. I am sure the same holds good, to a smaller or greater extent, of other ancient countries in which archæological excavations have been carried out.

It is not merely from the point of view of social mixing or cultural exchange that we in India think of these contacts. For us they have a still deeper significance. I wonder how the narrative of Indian history would have run if travellers like Hieun-Tsang, Fa-hian, the noted geographer Ptolemy, Ibn Batuta, Albaruni, Marcopolo and many others had not travelled far and wide in this land and taken pains to record their experiences. Similarly, one finds it difficult to imagine what course history might have taken in several Asian countries and our own if Indian thought and ideas had not been carried to them by some of our people and the subsequent exchange of ideas and cultural relationship not established between those countries and India.

However, all that belongs to an age gone by. The modern age has dawned with its own peculiarities, its many inventions and scientific discoveries and its own requirements. In the light of these the concept of international contacts and cultural relationship will no doubt call for some adjustment. We cannot afford to forget, and history lends support to this fact, that the wholesome effects of international relationship on cultural basis are far more abiding than those of any other ties among nations.

The foremost need today is that the peoples inhabiting different parts of the world should know one another so that misunderstandings which flourish on ignorance are removed and, what is still more important, the way to mutual co-operation is opened with a view to sharing by all the fruit of knowledge and the blessings of Nature and eradicating misery wherever it be with common human endeavour. Although modern means of transport have all but annihilated distance and brought nations of the world closer than they were ever before, yet the

task of establishing goodwill and proper understanding between man and man and nation and nation still remains to be fully accomplished. I would like to say that it is a task which friendly contacts and exchange of cultural ideas can do much to achieve.

The various agencies of the United Nations have done and are doing useful work in this direction, but still there is considerable scope for other official and non-official agencies also to operate in this field to everyone's advantage. As my friend, Dr. Humayun Kabir has pointed out, exchange of students, providing facilities for foreign scholars and organising lectures and seminars on subjects of common interest are some of the media through which we might try to achieve the desired objective.

It is only proper that in India which can modestly claim to be friendly with all countries, there should be a cultural organisation of this kind. I am, therefore, glad to know that the Indian council for Cultural Relations has made much headway during the short space of 8 years of its existence and that it is going to have its own headquarters in New Delhi.

Nothing could be more appropriate than that this Council, which was founded by the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, should be housed in a building named after him. Apart from his being a wise statesman, a far-sighted administrator and a self-sacrificing patriot, Maulana Azad was a scholar of great erudition and versatility. He had imbibed in his life all that the oriental learning and tradition can give and had adopted some of the best traits of the Western culture. Many of us looked upon him as a model of synthesis of the East and the West. He was deep and sympathetic and even when faced with conflicting situations and apparently uncompromising demands, his human approach and extraordinary capacity of reconciliation helped him to bring about an understanding between the two views or the parties holding them. The distinguished part which the Maulana played in Indian politics was no doubt largely due to his inherent qualities of head and heart, but the success which attended his efforts was no less due to the pattern of life which he had chosen for himself. He led a life of selfless work. In whatever he thought or did he kept the national interests before him and remained always above personal considerations. He inspired respect of all who came in contact with him and the confidence of those holding divergent views.

It is, therefore, a happy idea to name this building which will house the Headquarters of your Council as Azad Bhavan. Let us hope all those who work here and those who come to this place to attend the Council's functions will draw inspiration from the Maulana's life. I wish the India Council for Cultural Relationship the best of luck and a long and successful career in the interest of national and international amity and goodwill.

SCHEMES OF CHILD WELFARE.*

I am happy, once again to greet our children and to be able to extend my love and good wishes to them on the occasion of the Children's Day. We observe this day not only as a day of stock-taking for the work that has been done, but also for chalking out the programme for the coming year. In the midst of the complexities and imperativeness of other demands on our attention, the cause of the children should not be allowed to go by default.

Celebration of the Children's Day on a countrywide basis is one of the items of that programme. On this day we should devote some of our time to study the special problems of children and to think of ways and means of improving their living conditions. Generally speaking, a child's standard of living and upbringing is governed by his parents' resources—material, mental and moral. These may be up to the mark in some cases. But in all societies and particularly in ours there are children who are without parents or whose parents are not in a position to bring them up properly, that is to say, according to the minimum prescribed standards of health and education. Children are a national treasure and no enlightened nation can afford to leave the important question of children's welfare to chance or entirely to domestic care. It is the responsibility of our society to see that living standards and upbringing of children improve, that even children of the poorer sections of the society are properly looked after with State help if necessary and that mentally or physically handicapped children are given adequate aid in order to ensure their growth in healthy and sympathetic conditions.

The question of child welfare is connected with our education and public health schemes insofar as both of these branches of activity have to deal with children. In our educational and public health plans adequate attention should be

*Broadcast on the eve of Children's Day on November 13, 1958

paid to the special problems of children. There are many non-official organisations taking special interest in the welfare of children. What is, therefore, required is proper co-ordination of the activities of all these governmental departments and non-official associations which aim at promoting children's well-being. This is the work which the Indian Council for Child Welfare has taken upon itself.

There is one aspect of child welfare which everyone interested in this question must bear in mind. To be sure that we get the best possible results from our child welfare schemes, we must implement them betimes. Welfare activity in this connection is essentially related to a certain time or age. Unless the benefits of these activities are provided at the right time, children cannot get from them the help we intend to give them. The question of timely aid to children may be likened to the question of watering a crop. Water does a lot of good to crops provided it is made available in time; otherwise it may be of no use and may even prove damaging rather than useful. Similarly we have to take good care that all we propose to do to further the welfare of our children is done at the proper time. While in other matters affecting the welfare of the grown-ups delays may be disappointing or irritating, but in the case of child welfare delays may well prove fatal.

I am glad that the Indian Council for Child Welfare is conscious of all these problems and is determined to go ahead with its task of promoting the welfare of children. I wish the Council godspeed and once again send children all over India my affectionate greetings.

THE POETIC GENIUS OF KALIDASA.*

It has given me great pleasure to have come to this ancient town for participating in the Kalidasa Jayanti celebrations. I am not saying it as a matter of formality, for meeting scholars of repute and listening to learned discourses on Kalidasa is a rare opportunity and a great privilege.

For the last many years, particularly since Kalidasa Jayanti began to be celebrated every year mainly as a result of the

*Inaugural Speech at the Kalidasa Jayanti Celebrations at Ujjain on November 21, 1958.

efforts of Shri Surya Narayana Vyas and his associates, there has been perceptible awakening among the educated class about this great poet. People like me who have been educated through the medium of English will appreciate the importance of this development, though our knowledge of Sanskrit may not be deep. It is because, firstly, Kalidasa's poetry is of such high order that on its own merit it has kept the memory of the poet alive so that up to this day he is counted among the foremost litterateurs of the world. It is only natural that the educated class should be attracted towards a genius of such exceptional brilliance.

Secondly, those educated according to the Western system of education know full well the honour which is done by the people of England to Shakespeare. The high place which Shakespeare occupies among the English-speaking people should also belong to Kalidasa in India. When we see that the common people in India are not well conversant with Kalidasa and his works and for that reason are not able to give him the high place in the country's public life which his literary genius entitles him to, we cannot but feel sorry. It is, therefore, only natural that seeing how great poets and artists are honoured in other countries we should also seek to make up for our past remissness.

In this direction the people of Madhya Pradesh, particularly the literary circles of Ujjain, have done well in organising the celebration of Kalidasa's anniversary for the last 28 years or so. It is gratifying that these celebrations are getting more and more popular every year and as a result thereof wide consciousness is dawning on at least the educated people about Kalidasa and his graphic description of the town of Avantika. This is just the beginning of a great undertaking and as such has its own importance. I would like to congratulate the people of Ujjain, particularly those associated with these celebrations, on their efforts.

There may be difference of opinion as to the exact time when Kalidasa flourished. Let me hope that as a result of further researches and deeper study of his works it would be possible to arrive at a date acceptable to all. Be that as it may, it is not open to doubt that Kalidasa was born in this country, that he wrote all his plays in India and that it is the geography, the natural scenery and the social conditions obtaining at that time in India which have gone to form the background of his literary works. This is a historical fact which cannot be disputed.

As Indians we can legitimately feel proud of Kalidasa and his great works, but let us not forget that on account of his rare genius and the excellence of his poetry he is often looked upon as a citizen of the world. When the western countries had their first contact with India in the modern age and some western scholars studied Sanskrit, it were the works of Kalidasa which gave them the norm for adjudging Indian culture and our literary traditions. It was then that the work of rendering the plays of Kalidasa into European languages began and the educated people of the West started showing eagerness to know more about Sanskrit language and literature. It will be largely true to say that the people of India who were getting somewhat indifferent to this literary heritage began feeling proud of Kalidasa and other prominent literary figures as a result of this reappraisal of our literature by western scholars.

My object in saying all this is that the educated people the world over count Kalidasa among the biggest literary giants of all ages. This universal recognition imposes on us a heavy responsibility to do full honour to the life and literary contribution of such a great poet as Kalidas. It becomes our duty to see that Kalidasa's achievements do not remain confined to the four-walls of our colleges and universities but become a subject of popular interest throughout India.

It is difficult to say exactly how far Kalidas's works in themselves have been responsible for the wider recognition which Sanskrit literature has received for its excellence and universality. We can, however, be sure that no single poet or writer has contributed as much to enrich Sanskrit literature as Kalidasa. We might ask, what are those qualities which have earned so much fame and popularity for Kalidasa and put his plays among the world's best works. Apart from his inimitable style, his poetic diction and his extraordinary mastery over the use of metaphors, the foremost peculiarity in Kalidasa's works is the surprising success with which he has harmonised the real with the ideal. His description of nature and its beauties and the delineation of human character is so superb and so realistic that no one who reads it can help being fascinated by it. With the help of his rich imagination and poetic genius he has made several observations about human nature which will always remain as perennial truths.

The time when Kalidasa flourished is known as the golden age of Sanskrit literature, but even among the writers of that age Kalidasa has come to be known as an epoch-making poet.

it seems to me that its main reason is that Kalidasa's works are truly representative of the Indian literary tradition. Some scholars are of the view that the *Sringara* of Kalidasa is idealistic and that his idealism has a touch of *Sringara*. That is why his plays are considered as breathing the spirit of the times when they were written.

In spite of all this Kalidasa may be said to be a universal poet in the real sense of the term, because his characterisation of human nature and depicting the intricacies of the mental world are so perfect that they hold the mirror to the entire human society. When we see a character in his plays overjoyed, we are overtaken by a feeling of pleasure, when one of them is in mourning, our heart goes out to share his grief and when we see one of them in distress, a feeling of pain creeps over us. This is the best test of the excellence of a piece of literature. This is the experience of all readers of Kalidasa irrespective of their creed or nationality.

Kalidasa's plays have been translated in nearly all the major languages of the world and have been recognised for their literary excellence. Some of his plays have been so popular in England, Germany, France and other European countries that they have also been enacted on the stage. Soviet Russia has gone to the extent of honouring Kalidasa with a special commemorative postal stamp issued by its Government this year. Similarly, Asian countries like China and Japan have also paid handsome tributes to Kalidasa and honoured his memory in many ways.

Gratifying as all these developments are, one feels somewhat unhappy that in the country of his birth Kalidasa has not yet been given the place to which Kalidasa's genius and the great Indian nation are entitled. To be sure, the plays of Kalidasa are no mere text-books. Nor are they merely a source of recreation or acquiring knowledge. His works are a veritable link in the chain of India's intellectual, mental and literary development. Kalidasa is the herald of a new age characterised by new social and aesthetic trends. In fact, Kalidasa's works are indissolubly linked with those human ideals and norms of behaviour which are acquired through centuries of experience and enforced by cultural sanctions. Let the people of this country understand this and adopt in their national life the ideals of patriotism, national unity, goodwill towards all and high aesthetic sense, embodied in Kalidasa's works. In this would consist the success of the Kalidasa Parishad and the efforts of all of you gentlemen.

I am very happy to say that an organised effort is now being made in this direction. The general situation in the country is also favourable. Not only Indian but also several foreign universities have begun to show special interest in Kalidasa, as a result of which the circle of his admirers is fast widening.

My feeling is that we should do all to honour Kalidasa and to keep his memory fresh that a free country can do to honour its great men. But at the same time, I think Kalidasa's best memorial are his own literary works. The more we study them and try to appreciate them the greater will be the advantage to us and at the same time the greater the honour we do to his memory. I would suggest one of the best means of propagating Kalidasa's literature would be to render his works in all the Indian languages so that both the original Sanskrit and the translation are available to every reader. We should also try to establish Kalidasa literary circles and hold special seminars to discuss and appreciate his literary expressions, his poetic beauties and the picture drawn in his works of the social and political conditions of the India of those days. All the researches so far carried out about the birthplace and the date of birth and the life of Kalidasa generally should be made public and an intensive research done on all controversial points. If the Kalidasa Smriti Samaroh succeeds in focussing public attention on these points, it will have fulfilled one of its main objectives.

I am glad to announce on behalf of the Government that it has been decided to strike a special commemorative postal stamp in honour of Kalidasa. I am sure everyone here will welcome this move.

I am grateful to the conveners of this function for having invited me and thus providing me a chance to say something on this occasion. It is my hope and prayer that the Kalidasa Parishad and the Kalidasa Smriti Samaroh would achieve success in their respective undertakings.

IN MALAYA.*

Your Majesty, Your Highnesses, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I am deeply thankful for this opportunity to visit this country as Your Majesty's guest. It is a signal honour bestowed not

*Speech on arrival at Kuala Lumpur (Malaya) on December 6, 1958.

only upon me but on my people as well. On my part, I bring to Your Majesty and through you, to the Government and the people of Malaya, greetings on behalf of myself, my Government and the people of India.

I regard this great welcome that you have accorded me as symbolic of the friendship that exists between our two countries. And believe me when I say that my country will always be proud of this privilege of being accepted as a friend.

I am, personally, grateful for this opportunity to see your country and to know you and your people. In a sense, perhaps no Indian is a stranger to your country. There was a time in history when your ancestors and ours had known one another closely through exchanges of commerce and culture. They had met and befriended one another as free people. It is unfortunate that for a time we both lost this free contact. Now we have again the opportunity to know each other as free peoples and as friends

It is my fervent hope, and also the hope of my Government and the people of India, that, bound by strong bonds of friendship—friendship that can exist only between free peoples—we shall work together to enrich our freedom with the fruits of our toil and make our contribution to the happiness and prosperity not only of our own people but of the people of the world.

Once again, my Great and Good Friend, I would like to thank you and your people for the honour you have done me in inviting me to visit your country.

GIVING POLITICAL FREEDOM ECONOMIC CONTENT.*

My Great and Good Friend, I thank you most sincerely for the kind thoughts and sentiments that you have expressed on this occasion.

As Your Majesty has been pleased to point out, the relations between your country and mine have been of a most intimate character, and have left their indelible mark in thought, word, and all other cultural expressions. It is after all these links which have kept different peoples and countries in terms of amity and goodwill. And if I may be permitted to say, it is a lack of proper appreciation of these values that is leading to estrangement and worse between peoples. Science and technology have made tremendous progress and abolished distance.

*Reply to His Majesty's Banquet Speech on December 6, 1958.

The natural result of this should be closer links and friendlier contacts, But man's spiritual progress has not kept pace with this scientific achievement, and mankind is walking literally on the crater of a world-wide volcano which may explode any day. Let us hope and pray that humanity in man will assert itself and turn all these potential engines of destruction into instruments of production and happiness. I am therefore hoping that the contact which is being renewed with vigour today will be fruitful of the good that is expected of it, namely better understanding, truer appreciation and stronger bond of friendship.

Apart from thankfulness, my deepest feeling now, if I may say so, is that of great humility. It is the kind of humility that one experiences when one is face to face with history, with the weight of years of struggle behind and the vista of years of endeavour ahead.

Two decades ago, freedom was a goal that we were endeavouring to reach, but could not predict when we would be able to attain it. Yet we knew that there was no limit to human endeavour, and that God willing, one day we would win freedom. We did. And after years of endeavour you have also done the same.

Now that we both have attained freedom and have earned the great privilege of liberty, you and I, your country and mine, your people and mine—we are all travellers on the same road—the road to a future that is bright and full of hope but which demands from us devoted and dedicated work. I feel convinced that we both in Malaya and in India will work together as friends and equals towards this future.

Both our Governments and peoples are envisaged in the common task of giving to our political freedom that economic and social content which makes for peace, progress and the betterment of the lot of the common man. We shall devote ourselves to these noble tasks in a spirit of humility and dedication in the service of our people. On behalf of myself, my Government and the people of India, I bring our warmest felicitations and good wishes to the people of Malaya and wish all success to Your Majesty and the Government of the Federation of Malaya in their efforts to promote the happiness and prosperity of your people and enable them to make their contribution to the peace and happiness of mankind.

Your Highnesses, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen. I give you the toast of my great and good friend, His Majesty the Yang-di-Pertuan Agong.

COMMON GOALS OF HUMANITY.*

I am grateful to you for honouring me by your presence this afternoon at this function. I am indeed glad to have this opportunity to show my esteem and high appreciation for you and to reciprocate, in a small way, the honour and the generous hospitality that you have extended to me.

We in India had watched with interest and a feeling of gratification the events leading to the emergence of Malaya as an independent country. We welcomed this great historic event and felt proud of the fact that another Asian nation had taken its rightful place in the Commonwealth of Nations and in the United Nations. The Commonwealth represents an unorganised organisation of nations completely free from each in its own affairs and yet drawn and bound by invisible bonds which have not required any formal treaty to express themselves and which have each absolute liberty to continue or to cease to continue to remain and function within its orbit. It affords full opportunity to all to discuss matters of common interest. It may well furnish that pattern for a One World Organisation when ideological differences cease to play the important part they have on the international stage today and give place to the more fruitful idea of peaceful co-existence and universal co-operation.

We would fain hope that human history has now ceased to be the chronicle of individual aspirations and endeavours, and indeed that even the concept of nationalism is fast becoming too small to express human aspirations. I love to live in an age when people in ever-increasing numbers are beginning to think in terms of common goals for the entire human race irrespective of colour, creed or race and in terms of assistance and co-operation among all for mutual benefit.

For us, the nations of South-East Asia, this aspect of co-operation and assistance is perhaps more vital than it may appear to be to others more fortunately placed. In welcoming you this afternoon, I have in my mind, not only the present association and friendship between our Governments and our peoples but the further development of this association and friendship to the mutual benefit of both. I am confident that this mutual assistance and co-operation will continue to increase and will bring to both our peoples greater opportunities for brighter and more prosperous future.

*Speech at the Luncheon given by the President in honour of H. M. Yang-Di-Pertuan Agong on December 7, 1958.

Our representatives are proud and happy to co-operate with your representatives in the Colombo Plan arrangements, in the counsels of the Commonwealth and in the U.N. and its various organs in the pursuit of our common objectives of maintaining peace and promoting social and economic developments for the welfare of our people and also for the people of the world.

It is our fervent hope that this brotherly co-operation will continue and grow stronger in the years to come.

My great and Good Friend, we value your friendship greatly, and we have no doubt that under your wise guidance your country will continue its unfaltering progress towards a glorious future. In this great venture of yours, we offer our hand in sincere brotherhood, affection and friendship.

Your Highnesses, Your Excellencies and Gentlemen, I give you the toast of His Majesty the Yang-di Pertuan Agong of the Federation of Malaya.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF ASIAN COUNTRIES.*

Mr. Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I have indeed deemed it a great privilege to have been invited by His Majesty to visit this country as his guest. Please be assured, Mr. Prime Minister, that my people are fully aware of the honour done to me and through me to them as well.

The achievement of independence by Malaya has been a matter of great pleasure and satisfaction to us. And we are fully convinced that under your able leadership and guidance, the people of Malaya will successfully carry the burdens that liberty and freedom impose on all of us.

I regard my visit to your country as a quest in search of the old bonds of friendship and brotherhood and their renewal and strengthening and not as a matter of mere ceremonial, pomp and pageantry. I am confident that this visit will further strengthen the close and friendly relations between our countries and our people.

The countries of Asia and Africa are coming in their own and with the achievement of freedom are grappling with the tremendous problems of social and economic development which are vital for the happiness of our people. For this purpose, we want peace and mutual co-operation for common benefit of all countries of the world.

*Speech at the State Banquet given by the Prime Minister of Malaya at Kuala Lumpur on December 7, 1958.

We are living in a dynamic age. The advances in science and technology have reached a level which is staggering. The great need of today is to do all we can to press these advances in science and technology in the service of man, for his betterment and prosperity.

Both our countries face similar problems. The main task is to give economic and social content to our freedom and independence. Mr. Prime Minister, I would assure you that I and my people value the friendship of your country and we look forward to ever increasing co-operation with your country and your people in the pursuit of our common ideals of peace and economic and social development for the welfare and happiness of our peoples.

I am confident that under the wise and courageous guidance of its leaders, your country and your people will reach their true destiny and make their contribution to the betterment and prosperity of the people of the world.

Mr. Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I give you the Toast of His Majesty the Yang-di-Pertuan Agong, the Government and the people of Malaya.

ON LANDING IN INDONESIA.*

Friends,—

I am extremely grateful to my great and good friend, His Excellency President Soekarno, for giving me this opportunity to visit your country as your guest. I bring to you, my great and good friend, and to your people the greetings and the good wishes of all my countrymen.

I do not feel that I have come here as a stranger. There have always been close relations of culture and commerce between your country and mine. Your ancestors know ours. For a time, these relations were interrupted by unfortunate accidents of history of which both our countries became victims. Now we are both free and independent to resume our old ties and relations. I have, therefore, come as a pilgrim, to see, to know and to learn, to renew the ancient bonds between our two nations. Permit me, my great and good friend, to say once again that I am happy and grateful for the honour you have done me.

*On arrival at Kemajaon Airport (DJakarta), on December 8, 1958.

COMMUNTY OF IDEALS AND ASPIRATIONS.*

I am deeply touched by the kind thoughts and sentiments that you have expressed. In fact, I feel overwhelmed.

You and I are not strangers to each other. We have met before, and you already know how deeply I value and esteem your friendship. You also know how high you are in the esteem of my people. We know you as a great and tireless fighter for the freedom of your country, as a symbol of the energies, the hopes and the aspirations of your people. We have watched with admiration how you have led your people through years of travail, and we hope fervently that you will continue to lead them in their steady progress towards the glorious future that is their destiny.

Both of our peoples have drawn inspiration from our common struggle for freedom. Representatives of both our countries have, in the deliberations of various international organisations in which our countries participated, lent their support to the demand for freedom and independence of dependent people, particularly in Asia and Africa, who were or still are under foreign domination.

It was at your initiative, dear friend, that the first Afro-Asian Conference, which enunciated the ten principles and set the seal on the ideals and aspirations of resurgent Asia and Africa, was held at Bandung. This was no mere accident. It was in the fitness of things that your great country, which had won freedom after such travail and whose people had evolved a philosophy based on their ideal of Pantja Sila, should play host to such a historic conference.

We are living in a dynamic though difficult period. The advances made in science and technology in our life-time have been staggering. Only evolution of our moral and spiritual ideals has not kept pace with these tremendous advances in science and technology. The world is passing through terrible stresses and strains. Are the advances in science and technology to be harnessed to the economic and social development of the world and the eradication of hunger, poverty and disease for all men, and thus make their contribution to the increase of human happiness and fulfilment? Or are these advances to be used for destruction and annihilation of the human race? These are the questions facing us and the world today. Both our Governments have been doing all they can to secure that those in authority

*Speech at the State Banquet given by the President of Indonesia.

all over the world make the right choice and, instead of frittering away the great gains of science on destructive purposes, put them to constructive use for the benefit of all men, regardless of race, religion, colour or creed.

Basically, our national problems are also similar. Having gained freedom, our countries are engaged in the more complex and difficult task of giving economic and social content to our freedom. Without these essential developments, which improve the lot of the common man, liberty, freedom, independence, etc., have little meaning. We have faced and are facing difficulties in the tasks that we have imposed upon ourselves through our Five Year Plans. Our resources are being strained to the utmost. We have welcomed the assistance received from various friendly countries. We are confident however about overcoming our difficulties and have faith in the future as we are assured of the dedication of our people to make all sacrifices necessary today for a better tomorrow. Your great country and your people, my great and good friend, are engaged in similar task of reconstruction and development. We are confident that under your wise guidance and with the dedication of your people, your great country and its people will achieve the targets of development which will give full economic and social content to the freedom achieved under your leadership.

There is a community of ideals, hopes and aspirations between our two Governments and our two peoples. We have worked together for these ideals in the past and we shall continue to work more closely together for the same ideals in future.

Relations between your country and mine have been close and intimate for centuries in the past, but on account of adverse circumstances, not only Indonesia and India, but almost all Asian countries passed through a period of isolation from one another. Within recent years, there is not only a reversal of the process of isolation, but a positive approach for collaboration and friendship as free nations. This friendship and collaboration between different Asian and African countries is not against any other country or nation, but only for better opportunities for self-expression as a step for collaboration and friendship among all countries, nations and continents. This renewal of contact started some years ago. While we all were engaged in struggle in our own respective countries our great poet Tagore came as an Ambassador of Friendship to your country more than thirty years ago, and today I am happy that I can on behalf of the Government and the people of India extend to you personally the greetings and message of friendship of my country and my people.

We have known each other in adversity, and we have co-operated fully and freely towards achieving our ideals and aspirations. I am sure our co-operation and understanding will not only continue, but will increase in volume and quality to the mutual benefit of our two countries and also contribute towards the maintenance of peace and the amelioration of the condition of people all over the world.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT AND ASIAN COUNTRIES.*

Mr. Speaker and Hon'ble Members,—

I consider it a great privilege to have this opportunity of meeting you and your colleagues who are playing such a dynamic role in fashioning the destiny of your great country and drawing up plans for the welfare and well-being of the people of Indonesia.

Our two countries are not only close neighbours, but inspired by similar dreams, as they were in ancient times, and sustained by a determined will to build up for our people a society in which political, economic and social freedom and equality are translated into actual reality. This is a great adventure made still more glorious by the fact that the foundations are being laid in the hearts and minds of our common people, in full freedom for all, irrespective of a person's birth or station in life. It is only on this broad basis of democratic thought and habit, as illustrated by your tremendous labours that a lasting democratic structure can be built.

We have found in our country that if this great endeavour is to achieve complete success, it is essential for the people to be aware all the time of their loyalty to the nation and not to dissipate their energies in narrow, parochial self-defeating activities. Freedom and independence to wield our own destiny and build up our own future also requires inner discipline which puts the welfare of the people and the country above self-interest. It is only in a spirit of dedication to the service of the people that we find the joy of living and faith in the future of our country.

In our country we have had some experience and tradition of rule by consent of the ruled, in our village committees and panchayats; but the parliamentary form of government which rules out government of all by all in a large country on account

*Speech made on the occasion of reception given by Speaker of Indonesian Parliament on December 10, 1958.

of the numbers who participate in the process and depends upon rule by proxy through the instrumentality of representatives elected directly by the primary voter or through the intervention of his delegates for electing on his behalf, is new and our experience of it limited. But I am glad to be able to report to you that we have already held two general elections in which some 170 to 180 million voters were on the rolls and elected something like 4,000 representatives for the State Legislatures and the Union Parliament. From all accounts the elections were successful and passed off without any hitch or incident worth mentioning. But we should not, therefore, become complacent. The problem as to the extent to which an elected representative is to represent the views of his electors even where he disagrees with them has remained a moot question and subject of discussion. Then again government by the party system is the prevalent form but not without its efficacy or even its moral basis being challenged. Our experience cannot be treated as sufficient authority for action in solution of difficulties which arise in its practical application and we have naturally had to draw upon the precedents of other Parliaments, particularly the British, which constitute by and large the basis of our Constitution. One thing is clear. No democratic constitution can work better than its people deserve or desire, and one of the dangers to which this form of democracy is liable is that in the absence of a general awareness in the people of the rights and even more a living consciousness in them of their duties towards the State and towards one another it may lead to corruption of various types and degenerate into a rule by a faction or **junta**. It means a pretty high degree of appreciation of the problems that confront the people and willingness and determination to make the sacrifice required. We are apt in the process of ruling to forget that enforcement of right is secondary and we must recognise as axiomatic that rights arise only out of duty well discharged, and if the duty is well performed, the right will take care of itself. We are apt to reverse the process and to think that rights are primary and must be enforced. That danger has to be avoided in particular in a young and growing democracy and I cannot do better than uttering a warning on this point as much to my own country and people as, if you permit me, to any friendly country like you.

I have been in your great country for two days. I am overwhelmed by the kindness and friendship I have received and I am looking forward eagerly to the next nine days of programme, which will give me an opportunity to see and feel the magic and wonderful variety of your great country.

I am confident that under the wise and able guidance of your leaders and with the zeal, devotion and spirit of service evidenced every minute in the deliberations of your august assembly, the people of Indonesia will march from progress to progress and make their contribution not only to the prosperity of their country but also towards the peace and prosperity of the people of the world.

I thank you again Mr. Speaker for your kind invitation and your hospitality and this opportunity you gave me to meet you and your colleagues.

May God bless Indonesia and her people in everyway.

THE TRADITION OF TRUTH AND NON- VIOLENCE.*

Mr. Chancellor, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I use no words of convention when I say that I accept with deep feelings of humility the honour which it has pleased the University authorities to confer upon me. There was a time in my life when as a student I studied a little law and for a few years I actually practised as a lawyer. If you permit me to go into a little personal history, I might also say that after passing the highest examination in law in my University which was the Calcutta University, I wanted to have a doctorate in law for which I was preparing a thesis, but for good or evil I missed that opportunity because I was attracted by Mahatma Gandhi's teachings and became one of his humble followers. Not only did I give up the profession, but I have almost during the last nearly 40 years now, forgotten what little of law I had then learnt and acquired. But as you have been pleased to point out, my life has been dedicated to the service of my people, and in my own humble way I have been trying to live the law which Mahatma Gandhi would have liked to establish for not only us, but for all mankind.

The fundamental basis of his teaching is *satya* and *ahimsa*, truth and non-violence. Even during my earliest meetings with him, I learnt from him that a time might arise in a man's life when it became incumbent upon him as a true citizen to disobey a law which was against his conscience. But the limitation to this was that he must be a truly loyal citizen obeying the law which was above all law, namely the law of truth and non-violence or *satva* and *ahimsa*. He over and over again told us

*On the occasion of Conferment of Doctorate (Honoris Causa), Djakarta, December 10, 1958.

in the days of our **satyagraha** struggle that only they should disobey the law who were prepared to obey other laws than those which they felt impelled to disobey. It did not mean that a man had to become a lawless man or that he had to renounce all obedience to law. It only meant that he had to **develop** that higher sense within himself which dispensed with all external sanctions and which made him not only the person who obeyed the sanctions but also the person who made the sanctions for himself, and these sanctions were to be in conformity, as I have said, with truth and non-violence.

It was in this sense that from the very earliest days I came to regard it as a part of his teachings, that in following truth, one had to be very vigilant and cautious lest one might commit mistakes and attribute those mistakes to others, or cast blame upon others for what one was oneself responsible. It taught me to do unto others what I would like others do unto me. It taught me to live a life in which my requirements would not be such as to necessitate the curtailment of the supplies to others. I learnt that the law of love which one ordinarily found in a family has a far more extensive import than we generally attribute to it and that it can be, and as a matter of fact should be extended to cover not only people outside the family within the same country, but also outside one's own country, and indeed to cover the whole of humanity. But **ahimsa** does not stop there. It goes further and requires you to treat life wherever it is found, as of great value, and not to serve your own self by committing violence on any other living being.

In a country like India where we have people following different religions and speaking different languages it was absolutely necessary, as a matter of ordinary precaution and expediency, that we observed this law with all its full implications. Life would become impossible if we suffered any indulgence in disregarding this law; and you can now easily understand why even in our struggle against the British, Mahatma Gandhi insisted upon non-violence as the absolutely unbreakable rule in our conduct. I have said all this because I saw him working, as you have been pleased to mention, first in Champaran against the European indigo planters who oppressed the ordinary cultivators: We saw this law of **ahimsa** working not only in a negative way, but also in a positive way. Non-violence does not mean not doing harm to others. It means much more. It means doing positive good to others. It is not enough not to return hatred for hatred. The law requires that you should return love for hatred, and because I had the privilege of seeing

this actually working, I became mentally convinced of its efficacy and devoted myself to it. The planters had been oppressing the cultivators for nearly a hundred years and the poor cultivators had tried all means which they could imagine to be relieved of this oppression. They had sought the aid of the law courts and had failed. They had rebelled in a small way because they could not do that in a big enough way, and they had failed. Their revolt had ended only in increasing the oppression on them. They sought the aid of the legislature wherever it was possible, and they had failed.

When Mahatma Gandhi came to the scene, he at once saw that all this oppression was possible because the people had fear in their hearts and because the planters enjoyed prestige. Cowardice he always regarded as a sin worse than violence, because it meant that the coward entertained feelings of vengeance, but did not, out of fear, give vent to his feelings; whereas in the case of a violent person, the violence was not suppressed, but found expression. He therefore struck at both these at the root. He taught cultivators to become bold and free from fear, and as they became free from fear, the prestige of the planters which had been built upon fear, crumbled: and naturally within a year the oppression which had gone on for a hundred years and which had in fact been sanctified in a way by special laws, ceased, the law itself being repealed. This happened in 1917-18; and when he embarked upon his larger programme of truth and non-violence, non-co-operation for the whole country, not only those of us who had had the good fortune of being associated with him in the Champaran campaign, but the whole country understood the significance of it, and many of us felt that just as the Champaran campaign ended in a year, the campaign of winning freedom from the British rule would also end in success. Only it might take a longer time, more men to work for it, and greater sacrifice to be made in its cause. And so it did happen.

We were able, not in one year, but just in 27 years after the start of the Movement, to get power transferred to us by the British, and Mahatma Gandhi was witness to it. Three years later we became a Republic. During the Champaran Movement, Mahatma Gandhi used to tell people that he did not wish ill to the planters. All that he wanted was that the oppression for which they were responsible should cease: and this is exactly what happened. The oppression ceased but they were not sufferers because they took to other means of liveli-

hood, and for aught we know, were not any the worse for having had to leave their indigo manufacture and plantations which they sold off before retiring for good price. We felt even then that it would happen also to the British Empire in the same way: and we found that so far as India was concerned, the British Empire ended: and I have a feeling that they have not been losers, and as a matter of fact, our relations with them have never been more satisfactory than at present.

We have thus had practical experience of the law of *ahimsa* in its positive form working and producing results. Naturally a man in my position would therefore wish the same law to be accepted and adopted in practice by all nations of the world. We know that there are great difficulties, not the least among which are psychological. Man has been making tremendous progress in many directions; but his moral and mental equipment has not been able to keep pace with his intellectual and material, scientific and technological attainments: and the result is that in the absence of a psychology strong enough to overrule differences in thought and ideology, mankind has today to be in constant fear of annihilation. Death however comes only once either to a man or to a nation, although what is called life may be nothing more or better than a life of misery, a living death. This can be conquered only by a positive approach of *ahimsa*, and that is to defy death, and to root out from the minds of others the fear of death by the force of one's own love.

Although it may look presumptuous on my part to say so, I make bold to assert that the only effective answer to the atom and hydrogen bomb is not more of such bombs, but complete abolition of them, and that only a nation of brave people can achieve that by defying death and annihilation. I have no doubt in my mind that if some nation were, even today, to show the way by completely disarming itself and defying all other nations to do their worse to it, it would set an example like that of martyrs of old, who, though apparently killed, left a life behind them which has enlivened millions and millions of people. A nation in this age of nuclear physics armed only with fearless heads and stout hearts, can defy the most elaborately armed nation, having at its command the most dangerous weapons of destruction. If Mahatma Gandhi had remained alive, he might have placed this ideal before the world in an effective way, and I have a feeling that the world would have listened to his appeal. But unfortunately he is no more, but his words are there, his

life is there, and if only we could study them and understand their significance, and what is more, adopt them in our lives, we would be able to solve the problems of the present-day world.

Universal disarmament is, however, our ideal and we look forward to the day when it would become a reality, though I confess with regret that no country, including my own, has yet been able to achieve this ideal so eloquently presented by Gandhiji.

I fear I have trespassed much on your patience and have ventured to place before you my innermost feelings and to give expression to my highest hopes, not for my country only but for all. I need hardly assure you that I value this honour which you have conferred upon me all the more because I am conscious that I have not deserved it by anything that I have done, and I accept it more as a generous gift than a reward earned by me.

TASK BEFORE INDIAN NATIONALS.*

I am happy to have this opportunity of being here even for a short while. I could not come earlier because I was busy with other engagements. You are here doing work for the Ambassador and helping him in the discharge of his duties. The function of an Ambassador always is to understand the country where he is stationed and to convey to that country not only views on current matters but also to act as the conveyor of our cultural ideas; and we expect that your stay in this country will be fruitful in making India better understood in Indonesia than it might be today. I am aware that the relations between the two countries are very cordial and I am also aware that there is a great deal that is common between our culture and the culture of Indonesia. Your task therefore is all the easier because you can draw upon the past as well as upon the present in the discharge of your duties. I can only hope and wish that you will do all that you can to make the people of Indonesia feel how greatly interested we are in their welfare and progress and how much we value their traditions. I am sure you will discharge your duties to the satisfaction not only of the Government of India, but also carry with you when you go back memories of friendship during your stay here. I wish you all success in your task.

I understand that you have also got Indonesians on your staff. I am sure they will act as a link between Indians and Indo-

*Speech at the Indian Chancery in Djakarta, on December 10, 1958.

nesians because they can bring them nearer to each other and make each understand the other better. I wish them also good luck in their endeavour and all success in life.

BANDUNG'S IMPRESSIVE WELCOME.*

Friends, I do not possess words adequately to express my feelings of thankfulness for the great welcome that you have extended to me. Ever since I landed three or four days back at Djakarta, I have been the recipient of affectionate welcome and goodwill from all classes of people and of love for me which I take it is love for my country. For the last forty years or so I have been moving in crowds in my own country and I can say that I cannot recall many occasions when I have been greeted by such huge crowds as I have witnessed here in your country. I have been deeply impressed specially by the people who assembled today in thousands to show their affection for me. I cannot forget the women, particularly the girls who have been so very kind and nice as to face all odds to be able to see me and to show their goodwill towards me. I take it all this good feeling and expression of love is for my country and not for me personally.

Your country and mine have had centuries of very close and intimate connection as you have pointed out yourself. These old ties are now being not only revived but strengthened day by day by your action and by our own action. It is only natural that in this city of Bandung I should be welcomed in such an enthusiastic manner. It is expressive of the spirit which has come to be associated with Bandung. It is not only Indonesia and India which are going to be bound together by ties of love but all the nations of Asia and, if I may say so, of the world. To begin with, we are working for a kind of combination of the Asiatic and African nations. But that is not intended for aggression of anyone, big or small. If anything, we want strength to be able to serve others better. Let me hope that this spirit will grow stronger and stronger and nations will come into their own at no distant time. When they have once reached that state, let me hope that they will devote themselves to the service of mankind.

I see quite a number of Indians in the audience here. I have only one word to tell them. Become Indonesians for all purposes while you are here. Even if you have to leave this country, carry with you love for this country. At the same time, do not forget India.

*Speech on arrival at Bandung, on December 11, 1958.

I thank you once again for all the love and affection that you have shown to me.

AMONG INDIAN SETTLERS.*

It has given me such a pleasure to see all of you who have been living far away from your homes. From time immemorial Indian people have been going to far off lands with the message of India's culture, which they were instrumental in spreading wherever they went. For a few centuries this link between India and overseas lands was snapped. Now that we are a free nation we are naturally trying to pick up old threads to renew old friendship and establish fresh contacts. Meeting our nationals living in foreign countries is, therefore, always a matter of pleasure for me.

My only advice to you is that in the country of your adoption where you do business and make a living, you should live as good citizens and in such a friendly way that you are no longer looked upon as foreigners. At the same time you should not forget India where most of you were born and with which you are still connected with many a tie. You must also give your love and your loyalty to Indonesia where you are now living. I wish you all the best of luck and a happy and prosperous life.

AT THE INDONESIAN MILITARY ACADEMY.†

Mr. Governor, Instructors and Cadets,—

I desire to thank you most heartily for the very valuable souvenir which you have given to me. I thank you also for the sword which you have given for the sister Academy, to which I shall take care to remit it in due course.

I need hardly assure you how deeply I appreciate all that you have said and I wish our mutual relations in all fields should grow stronger and stronger and better and better every day. It is my earnest desire to find ways and means for further strengthening our bonds and for enlarging the scope of our co-operation in all matters. I know there are many things which we can exchange just as in the past. In the present days also we are both so situated that we can help each other a great deal and I wish both of us would take advantage of the position and so bring about things that we may further strengthen the bonds

*Reply to Reception by the Indian Association at Bandung, on December 11, 1958.

†Speech at the Indonesian Military Academy, Magelang, on December 13, 1958.

of friendship and extend the field of co-operation. I thank you for the honour you have done me and for the gift you have made.

I am very much impressed by your smart turn-up and the way in which you have conducted yourselves in my presence. The training which you are receiving here, I am sure, will stand you in good stead in your later life after some years when you take to the regular armed forces and have to discharge duties appertaining to the armed forces. Every country depends very largely for its defence and protection on its armed forces, and in the present days, there is always a risk of something or the other turning up, and the armed forces have ever to be ready and vigilant, and I have no doubt that your country can very well fight for its defence against other forces in that eventuality. I am happy that you are going to join these forces soon as fully equipped and fully trained men. I congratulate you and I wish you all success.

HALT AT SURABAYA.*

I am happy to be here even though for a short while. I have been in your beautiful country for more than a week now and within these days I have seen much. All that has impressed me deeply and I am thankful that I was able to come here and see the people with my own eyes. The welcome and the affection that has been shown to me has been really marvellous. Whether it is the midday sun or pouring rain, wherever I have gone, I have found people assembled in their thousands just to have a look at me. I do not know how to repay all this kindness and affection. I can only say this, that your country and mine have had very long association and now we are tied together again in bonds of friendship, which, I am quite sure, will become stronger and stronger as time passes, and I can give you this assurance, that we shall do all on our part to make this friendship more binding, more enduring and more strong. Thank you.

REPLY TO WELCOME ADDRESS.†

Indian Residents of Surabaya,

It fills my heart with pleasure to see you all today. I have been touring this country for some days past. Wherever I have gone Indian residents have come out in large numbers to greet me. It is only natural for them to exhibit so much of regard

*Speech at Surabaya Airport, on December 14, 1958.

†Reply to welcome address presented by the Indian Community at the Surabaya Airport on December 14, 1958.

and kind sentiments for a brother coming from India, particularly when the new-comer, as in this case, happens to be the head of the newly established sovereign democratic Republic of India..

I feel happy to see that though time and space separate you from your motherland, yet you cherish for it and its culture feelings of respect and deep love. I think it is the duty of every Indian who goes out to give his best to the country of his adoption and to live like a true brother in the midst of its citizens, without at the same time forgetting his own homeland.

It has given me great pleasure to know that you are held in high esteem by the local Government and by President Soekarno. For this they deserve my thanks and all of you my congratulations. This is what was expected of you. We are looking forward to strengthening our friendly ties with Indonesia more and more with the lapse of time. We have come fairly close to one another as good friends during the last ten or twelve years. Both of us have decided to make our friendly ties as strong and enduring as possible. Indonesia fully shares this desire with us. Her representatives in United Nations conduct themselves in more or less the same manner as the representatives of our country do. This policy has to be welcomed as it has been responsible for lending support to the cause of several countries' freedom.

It is your bounden duty to conduct yourselves in a manner which may enhance the good name and prestige of India abroad and which may provide the right perspective for others to know our country and understand its culture.

Once again I must thank you for the address that you have presented to me and express my happiness at seeing you all today.

My Dear Children,—

You have come here all the way at the desire of His Excellency the President just to meet me and also to give me some of your beautiful songs which you have done so well. I am told that you are receiving very good education and you are going to be very good citizens from what I have been able to see. As a token of my appreciation, I suggest to His Excellency to grant you one day's holiday and I would also place at His Excellency's disposal 1,000 Rupiyas for distribution. (Applause.)

*To a gathering of children at Tampak Siring (Bali) on December 16, 1958.

ADVICE TO INDIAN NATIONALS.*

Friends, ever since I arrived here, I have been the recipient of people's welcome. All that has gone up to now has been done by our Indonesian friends and today I find myself in the midst of Indians who are in this country on business.

I have heard with interest and pleasure the report of your activities which has just been given to me. I can assure you that we from the home country always look upon Indians in different countries of the world more or less as our ambassadors. We look upon them not as mere traders or businessmen or workers who have gone in search of work or business, but we trust that they carry with them something of the culture, of the civilisation, of the spirit of the motherland, and in all that they have to do, they always remember that their first and foremost business is not only to make money or earn in whatever way it is possible, but be friends with those among whom they have to work and from whom they expect support in all their activities. It has therefore been a matter of great satisfaction to me to learn that you are living here in the midst of friends, that you have been able to earn the appreciation and assistance whenever required of the Indonesian Government and of the people at large.

I can only hope that you will continue to earn and enhance the goodwill of the people here and to carry to them the conviction of friendliness which the country from which you have come has for them. Your work will be incomplete unless and until you are able to identify yourselves with the people here and to rejoice in their joys and to share in their sorrow when they are in sorrow. It is this one great characteristic of our people to identify themselves with those with whom they have to come in contact that will make their whole life easy and prosperous, and also earn for India a good place in the minds and hearts of the people of other countries. You will be discharging your duties by your country and also by the country which you have now adopted for your work and for your business if you bear this in mind.

I wish to congratulate you on the way in which you have managed not only your own private affairs but also as a community, by establishing the various committees and associations which you have mentioned. I hope that while doing the best you can for the people here, you will also be remembering your own country. I wish you all success in your efforts.

*Address to the Indian Association in Djakarta on December 18, 1958.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF FREEDOM.*

Brothers and Sisters of Indonesia,—

Permit me to begin with a personal reference.

His Excellency President Soekarno was the first Head of a State to visit a free India. He was present at the inauguration of our Republic—January 26, 1950—and it became my privilege after my installation as the President of India, to bid him farewell when he left our country. Ever since then, it has not only been an obligation which I had to discharge but also an earnest wish on my part to visit your country, and I am really happy that I have at least been able to discharge that obligation and to fulfil that wish of mine.

I really find it difficult to thank you for the warmth and kindness that have been showered upon me ever since I set foot on the soil of your great country. The friendly sentiments and the cordial greetings of your people for me and my country have been overwhelming. While I hasten to reciprocate them and express my deep gratitude, I would like to assure you of the unbounded goodwill and the feeling of friendliness that the people of India cherish for Indonesia and her people. It is not merely in the spirit of exchanging compliments or platitudes that I am saying these words. Permit me to say that these sentiments are grounded in perfect understanding, mutual goodwill and the desire to be of help to each other.

Before I came here, I had read something and heard something about your country which has been endowed by Nature with a beauty and a charm all its own. I am reminded of one half of a Persian couplet which says "Shunida Kai bawad manind deeda". How can what has only been heard equal that which has been actually seen? You have simply charmed me by your art. I believe that that art is real which is not artificial and which forms part of life and comes naturally. I have found that with you, art is not a hot house product cultivated by a few and so necessarily confined to a few. Out of very simple materials available locally and as a matter of tradition without the help of elaborate arrangements for training in well-equipped institutions, you have developed a high skill in painting, in wood-carving, in making musical instruments, in decorating your surroundings, roads and houses and in your music and dance, and in making your life elegant, which is as charming and bewitching as it is natural. It has therefore become part of the life of the people who are gay and happy, and have in this way defied for ages the devastating effects of want and

*Speech made at a Public Meeting at Djakarta, December 18, 1958.

poverty. The verdure and variegated colour of your land, the bewitching charm of your art and the effusive expression of your love and welcome that I have experienced, have made an indelible impression.

I have now been in your country for ten days. I have travelled great distances and seen much. Yours is a country rich in culture and resources, both material and spiritual. I am confident that under the able guidance of my great and esteemed friend and brother, President Soekarno, your country and your people will achieve prosperity in freedom which is your destiny. I have no doubt that the opportunity which freedom has brought with it will be fully utilised for the good of the people, for raising their standard of living and for their general well-being. Your own courage and determination and President Soekarno's wise leadership are a guarantee that you will surmount all your present difficulties and usher in an era of peace and prosperity for all your people.

Being here has made me realise more clearly than ever before, how close my country and yours have been throughout the ages. There was commerce between the two lands, and a free flow of thought, civilisation and culture. It was unfortunate that for a time these contacts had been lost. You have known long years of foreign rule, the horrors of war and occupation, the blood, sweat and tears of the years of your struggle for freedom. We also had our share of trials and tribulations. You have emerged victorious from this struggle and so have we. And what has been the goal, the watch-word of all our efforts and endeavours? The idea of freedom of liberty, of the right to rule ourselves, to fashion our destiny with our own hands and the right to live in peace with other nations of the world. The heroes of your struggle for freedom laid down their lives for this priceless possession liberty—and ours did the same.

The quality of freedom has brought to all of us new responsibilities. We, as much as you, have been faced with the task of evolving and defining an attitude towards the rest of the world, that will ensure for all of us alike, respect, dignity, and independence. We all have a basic philosophy of life, recognising the sanctity of the individual as well as of the community we belong to. You have your Pantja Sila based on your experience. We have, thanks to the wise guidance and leadership of the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, and the sages who went before him, the basic philosophy of non-violence in word, thought and deed. It is from these basic philosophic concepts and similar concepts of our other brethren in Asia and Africa

that the Bandung principles were formulated in that historic gathering of Afro-Asian nations to which your great country played host in 1954.

Since the ending of the last war, countries of Asia and Africa have been gradually coming into their own. In many cases colonial rule and foreign domination have given place to freedom. In this wave of resurgence that has swept the continents of Asia and Africa, I feel happy to say that your country and your national leaders have played a role of which all of us feel proud. The earlier régimes have bequeathed a legacy of problems which have to be faced and solved in order to vest independence with meaning and significance. The progress so far made in this direction is no doubt heartening. The task of national reconstruction in the present age is stupendous in every country. The process may sometimes look long and tortuous, but it has to be followed with determination in the wider interest of the nation and the world at large.

We are living in an age when no appraisal of a country's problems may be realistic without taking into account international relations. Technological advances and the great strides that science has made may well change the very connotation of the terms national and international. New inventions have given wings to man, making travel quick and easy and destroying distance as a barrier between country and country.

The dynamic age in which we live, the tremendous strides made in science and technology and the multitude of complex and difficult problems we have to face from day to day, leave us little time to pause and to reflect upon the spiritual contents of our actions. Our minds tend to be occupied too much with the problems of our material existence from day to day. In this preoccupation, the broader perspective of our personal as well as national existence tends to become lost in a confusion of every day details. Admittedly, there are troubles that have to be faced everyday but, on the whole, there has to be an overall awareness of the meaning and purpose of our individual as well as our national existence. To sustain us through the days of stress and strain that beset all of us equally, we all need a philosophy of life—a philosophy that helps us to preserve our faith in ourselves and our fellowmen. This is why we have all along tried to stress the importance of achieving a state of moral consciousness which would give us the courage never to compromise with injustice, and to protest against injustice wherever it may occur.

All this scientific and technological progress would augur well for humanity if only scientific knowledge had not shown us its other facet. Along with many a blessing, science has also given us weapons of destruction which can efface all humanity. We find ourselves in a situation when it has become an inescapable and essential condition for preservation of international peace, that these deadly gadgets remain unused. Never before was the question of international amity and goodwill of greater importance than today. Whatever its politics or ideology, every country today swears by world peace, and I take it, endeavours in its own way to safeguard it. That sentiment or policy, if you like to call it, has to be stabilised in the minds of men, and especially of statesmen and leaders of countries. It has to be given the practical and realistic form of renunciation of war, or at least of disarmament, in particular of the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons to begin with as a firm policy of action. Is it too much to suggest that the least that can be and should be done is to give up the tests which I believe are undertaken with a view to finding out the further and more destructive efficiency of improvements that are being constantly made? Bold action, especially when it is backed by the nobler instincts, if not the tacit consent of mankind, is bound to be supported by the public opinion of the world. When Mahatma Gandhi started and embarked upon his active programme of non-violent non-co-operation, he insisted on non-violence even in the face of the most blatant violence of the opponent. It was well remarked by an English or American writer that Gandhi by disarming his own people, had virtually disarmed the British. I make bold to say that in the present state of world opinion, a nation disarming itself at least of nuclear weapons will be practically and virtually disarming other nations of such weapons even though they may possess them. In any case unilateral stoppage of these terrible tests cannot fail to enforce similar action on the part of others. We who are happily not possessed of such engines of destruction and are determined not to have them, can only plead with others who possess them and ask for an application of even a part of the scientific knowledge and technical skill and natural resources now being utilised for producing what may never be used after all, and if ever used, will end in destroying not only the so-called enemy but also the country using it—to be diverted to productive purposes to make a heaven instead of a hell of this earth. We must realise betimes that humanity with all its progress, has ultimately to resort to non-violence for its survival. That is the message which Gandhi would have given to the world with a fervour and conviction that could not fail to make an effective appeal to the nobler instincts and inherent intelligence with which

humanity has been endowed by Providence. Gandhiji developed a technique of active non-violent resistance against injustice and oppression as an effective substitute for violent war. He believed that for opposing anything unfair, one's internal courage based on truth and non-violence was a more potent weapon than any brutal violence or animal force. As long as he lived and led our freedom struggle, he stuck to this principle, amending and improving it in the light of practical experience. How much one wishes he had lived for some years more so that he could apply this theory to international affairs as well, since during his life time, its use was naturally confined to India's internal affairs only and was in the nature of an experiment with truth which was the course of his whole eventful life.

If I had not felt that I am talking to people who are like brothers to us, I might not have dwelt at such length on this point. When I speak about the virtues and practical utility of non-violence, I have no right to pose that I am speaking from a high pedestal. It is not given to me to do so, because in my own country we have not been able to live up to the high standards of the Mahatma, though we strive to follow in his footsteps. Therefore, whatever I have said is not necessarily addressed to men and women of any particular country, but to all those interested in finding a way out of the present impasse. I am sure it will be worth while for all nations to consider whether fostering the spirit of non-violence is not the best reply to the challenge of nuclear weapons. You and we are in a neutral position and may make the appeal.

Friends, I have had the good fortune to enjoy your hospitality and the kindness, warmth and generosity of spirit with which you have received me wherever I went. I have received from my brother Soekarno not only the courtesies that are exchanged between Heads of States as a matter of form, but what is infinitely more valuable, the tender affection of a brother which has not only touched my heart but entered it to remain enshrined therein. The Romans used to say 'I came, I saw, I conquered'. I can say for myself—I came, I saw and I am conquered'. I shall carry with me pleasant memories and a profound feeling of friendship. Before I go, let me once again pledge to the people of Indonesia, our friendship. I would also like to thank you, Brother, for all the good things you have said about me and my country. May I assure you that the people of India hold the people of Indonesia in the highest esteem and greatly value their friendship? May the Almighty bless you all!

PRESIDENT'S BANQUET.*

Proposing a toast in honour of his guest, Dr. Soekarno, President of Indonesia, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said:

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I am grateful to Your Excellency for the Honour you have done me by responding to my invitation to this function and affording me an opportunity to reciprocate, to however small an extent, the generous hospitality I have enjoyed during my sojourn to your country. I have elsewhere and especially at the great gathering of the people of Djakarta this morning given expression to my deepest feeling and I fear any repetition may smack of artificiality.

Your country and mine are both travellers, each in its own way and according to its own capacity, to the same goal of prosperity for its own people and friendship with others. We have been friends in the days of our adversity and in our struggle for freedom. The attainment of independence has strengthened these bonds of friendship and we are today co-operating, and I am sure we will always co-operate in our common task of raising the standard of life of our own people and seeking for peace and justice for the nations of the world. We have known difficulties but the dynamism of our peoples have overcome all obstacles and I am confident will do so whenever and from whatever source the challenge comes. I can only say that we shall always march on the path of Pantj Shila and apply it with all our strength both to our internal problems and to our international relations.

I am happy that we have had a long association of friendship. As friends, we have watched your progress in the last ten years with affection and admiration. Your country like ours faced great difficulties but under your wise and distinguished leadership, you have triumphed over them.

My visit to Indonesia has undoubtedly strengthened the friendship between our countries and I feel that what has till now been a friendship has now been forged into a bond of personal love and affection. I am specially touched by the affection and consideration which Your Excellency has shown to me and I will ask you to give me the freedom to greet you as Bung Karno, my brother.

Ladies and gentlemen, I request you to drink the toast to the health of His Excellency the President of Indonesia, my brother, Soekarno.

*President's Banquet in Honour of Dr. Soekarno on December 18, 1953.

FAREWELL MESSAGE.*

My Great and Good Friend,—

As I leave your shores, I thank you, and through you, the people of Indonesia, for having given me the opportunity to visit this country. It has been a pleasure, a great pleasure indeed, to be here as your guest. I am carrying back with me the most pleasant memories of your kindness and generous hospitality and of the deep feelings of friendship of the people of Indonesia.

I am confident that the friendship between our two countries and our two peoples will grow from strength to strength.

To you and to your people, I extend my warmest wishes for a happy and prosperous future.

Long live Indonesia.

Long live the friendship between us.

God bless you all.

 AT SINGAPORE.†

I am very glad to have this opportunity of meeting you all, many of whom I believe are still Indians by nationality. I really wish I had a little longer time when I could make better acquaintance with the place and the people here. But as it is, let me wish them all success in their life and all prosperity. I wish the Government all success in the work in which it is engaged and I join in the hope that soon the people will be possessed of a higher status in the political sphere in this country than they have today and will be in a position to fashion their destiny according to their own choice. That is the wish of everyone who has tasted freedom and I have no doubt that that is the wish of the people here. I am therefore making no extraordinary demand because I know that the British Constitution has elasticity in itself and those who are in control of affairs have generosity enough to realise the feelings of others. I can say from the experience that we have had in our country that they will not fail to respond to the wishes of the people in due course.

I thank you all for the welcome that you have given me and I would ask the Indians who are here to behave like Singaporeans, to identify themselves with the interests of Singapore, and in whatever they do, they may not do anything which might bring discredit on them because discredit on them is discredit on the fair name of India; and they are all here to uphold their own good name as well as the good name of the country from which they have come, whether they are citizens of Singapore or not. I wish you all prosperity and thank you once again.

*Farewell message to President of Indonesia on December 19, 1958.

†Address to the people assembled at Singapore airport on December 10, 1958.

